2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

and gradually reforming matters, were working towards punishing them in the same manner as theft within the tribe.

The fights between Montenegro and the Turks were usually brought about in this manner. The Montenegrins raided the Turkish borders, especially Herzegovina, till the Turks sent punitive expeditions. All sheep-stealers were considered heroes.

So far as my own experience goes I never had a thing stolen from me when among the Albanian tribes; they dealt honestly by me always.

FINES FOR OTHER MATTERS

In the case of rape the injured family may take blood; or it may compound for peace and accept about £30. The father of an illegitimate child must pay for its keep.

For killing a sheep or cattle a fine of about £2 to £3 per head.

For cutting wood in the forest of others, £2.

For stealing fruit, etc., according to value.

For putting a beast to graze on someone else's pasture, £2.

For putting beasts to graze on your own tribal pasture before the right season, £4.

(The sums given are only approximately taken at the then value of piastres.)

INHERITANCE

No land may be sold or bequeathed to a member of another tribe or any outsider.

The possessor of land can only sell it to his nearest male relative on his father's side.

Women cannot inherit land.

The house and such land as belongs to it is inherited by all a man's sons equally. As a matter of practice they continue living in it, and the eldest son is "zoti i shpis" (house-lord). I have seen a young man of twenty-eight years ordering his old uncles about in most peremptory manner. Expressing surprise at the way they obeyed, I was told: "They must—God has made him house-lord."

Failing sons, the property belongs equally to the nearest male relatives of the deceased, who usually would be his brothers. The eldest is then house-lord.

Should a man leave a wife who has had no children, she is of no account, and must leave the house and return to her father's house. Should she have a son under the age of fifteen she remains to mind the house till he inherits it. Till he is fifteen a guardian takes charge of his affairs. At fifteen he is of age and can carry arms. If the widow has

562 592 [583] 587 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law, and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe the practice is obsolete.

589 562 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return [593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains unmarried.

421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

421 311 [134] The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock.

312 The water supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.

689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

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of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Franciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal, and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage." "They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away. In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31, 1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage." And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted, and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

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585 married by P. Francesco one ran away six weeks ago and cannot be found.

584 When I was there in 1908 things were better, but old customs clung. The main idea of the clergy was to insist that a betrothal must not be broken off, but to prohibit child betrothals.

583 All priests were ordered to question the girl as to her wishes before
585 celebrating the marriage. Few girls, however, have the courage to resist the commands of the house and the usage of the tribe. Among the wilder tribes girls who objected were still sometimes carried off bound with cords and forced to comply; and, cohabitation having taken place, the priest married them.

581 Among the Dukagini tribes infant betrothal was still common.
584 The fine old bairaktar of Nikaj, Bash Bairimi, told me that he thanked God he owed no one blood; all his five sons were alive and four were married. The fifth, aged twenty-five, was yet unmarried. Not because Bash grudged the money. He would pay willingly, but could find no maiden good enough. He wanted good blood. A woman of bad stock makes endless trouble. He had betrothed the four elder lads to unborn brides; but had not done this with the fifth and was sorry, for all good maidens were already betrothed. He was looking out for a suitable widow. Money, he repeated, was no object; he would not stick at a few more napoleons to buy a really suitable woman.

583 A result of high bride-price and shortage of women was a good deal of woman-stealing between the outlying tribes. I was told that many of the blood-feuds of Shala were based upon the abduction of girls from neighbour tribes. If a betrothed girl went off with another man, willingly or unwillingly, a blood-feud always started. She was the property of the family that had bought her and had no rights over her person.

584 *Escape from Betrothal.*—In one way only could a girl evade a marriage
589 she disliked. If she could find twelve elders of her tribe group to act as con-jurors she could swear perpetual virginity. If she broke the vow the honour of the con-jurors was blackened and a blood-feud ensued. It was not easy for her to find twelve con-jurors.

689 Having succeeded and taken the vow in the church or mosque, her
626 status is, I believe, unique. In the Maltsia e Madhe she can, if she pleases, dress as a man. She associates with the men on equal terms,
689 and eats and smokes with them. She may carry arms. The reason given
562 is that as she has no man to support her she must support herself,
839 and a herdsman's life is the only way. I met altogether four virgins who wore men's clothes, but none carried arms. I heard of three more. One in the Djakova district was said to have served in the Turkish Army undetected.

Birth, Marriage, and Death

Among the Dukagini I met several virgins, but all wore women's dress. As a rule, in all districts, the sworn virgin became servant to one of the priests, and often joined the Third Order of St. Francis. Some became nuns or worked in one of the Scutari nunneries. 689 562

In the Maltsia e Madhe, in the case of a man with several daughters and no son, by his wish one could swear virginity and act as his son. He could bequeath to her his house and land for her lifetime, after which it reverted to the nearest male heir. Such a virgin had the right to sell her younger sisters. Such an one, aged about forty, I met in the Hoti tribe (Plate VIII). [428]

In the Dukagini tribes, where the virgins do not wear men's dress, they cannot inherit and live on and work the land during their lifetime as in Maltsia e Madhe. The land goes to the next male heir, and he must pay the virgin yearly 300 okos of maize, 18 of rakija, and 30 of wine, and she can enforce payment by appeal to the Council of Elders.

One case only did I hear of a virgin breaking her vow. She had been for years servant to the priest of Baitza, and was accounted holy. On his death she was forty, and shocked the country-side by eloping with a Gusinje Moslem. No one dared follow to take vengeance in such a dangerous district, but it was piously hoped that she would pay the price of her crime in hell. [689]

On the way from Berisha to Apripa we passed a huge rock. A virgin, so holy that she was almost a saint, had vowed to carry it to the church at Berisha. She carried it safely a long way. Then in the forest she heard a shepherd fluting, and looked at him and admired him. Straightway she forgot the heavenly things on which she had fixed her mind; she dropped the rock, and when she tried to pick it up again found she had lost her miraculous strength. And there the rock stands. 689 562 773

In spite of many inquiries, I failed to hear of a case of a young man refusing to marry his betrothed bride. People were surprised I should ask and always replied: "But why should he? God has made all women alike." On the other hand, I met some cases of blind fury ending in blood-feud where a father had broken faith and sold his betrothed daughter to someone else. I argued with one man who was "in blood" that it was stupid to want to marry a girl he had never seen and who did not want him—people in other lands would laugh at him. He furiously replied that the girl had been paid for years ago by his father; the return of the bride-price made no difference; she was their property, and he would get her if he had to shoot her husband to do so. His honour and that of his whole house had been blackened. If people in other lands laughed at him it only showed they had no honour. 585 583 578 577 563

I asked often why the young men did not choose for themselves, 587

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587 law was taken to wife more often than not. To remonstrances the reply was, "She belongs to us," and it was pointed out it was the only way to get a wife without paying for her.

[589] In these districts, if the widow is sold, the bride-price is shared by her husband's family and her father's.

595 A man at Nikaj came to see me who was excommunicate for having
577 two wives—a legitimate wife and the widow of his cousin. He told me
688 he could not possibly put her away because it would be a disgrace to do so. She must stay in the house because she had young children to bring up, and so long as she is in the house he must cohabit with her, for she cannot have another husband. He was unhappy about the excommunication—but one must do one's duty and take the risk.

587 It is perhaps noteworthy that in the districts where this custom
144 is firmly rooted there are no Slavonic place-names and no appearance
103 of any Slavonic blood. The people are all in stature shorter and smaller built than the Maltsia e Madhe people. They are almost all dark-eyed—dark-brown to hazel—and dark-haired. The skull is short, but is round at the back and has not the characteristic flat back of the folk farther north. The hair grows very low on the forehead, especially on the temples, where sometimes it almost unites by a thin line of hair with the outer end of the eyebrow. The eyebrows often nearly meet in the middle. The nose is short and straight. The moustache is sparse and straggly. The beard, such as is seen after a fortnight without shaving, often sparse or patchy.

587 The custom of the levirate may therefore belong to the small,
178 dark, pre-Slavonic people.

The purpose of the levirate in other lands is often said to be to raise up children who are to rank as those of the deceased. Though this may have been the reason in the above-mentioned case of the man who took the very recently married widow of his brother, in the great majority of cases in Albania it is not so; for the widow with sons is the one who has the right to remain, and in fact must remain, in the family house; and therefore it is she who is most frequently the levirate wife. In this matter Albanian custom seems to differ from that in other lands where the levirate is practised.

4. Rights of Husband over Wife

562 No one may beat a woman but her father or her husband. In the mountains a husband had the right to beat his wife if he told her three
593 times to do, or not to do, a thing, and she disobeyed each time. If he
681 orders her not to reply and she does so he may beat her. Even some

Albanian Women

562 HE Albanian women are an intriguing combination of charm and grace with the addition of more serious virile qualities; the results of this association make them delightful and quite unique. They have rapidly risen from any form of servitude which they may have endured in the long past and now walk hand in hand with the men of their country.

142 In appearance she is tall and slender and of the brunette type, with large, black eyes smouldering between long, curling, black lashes—the warm, emotional type. Her carriage is pleasing, moving as she does with a suppleness that denotes the women who are accustomed to living in the open air and not spoiled by those instruments of torture which, for the sake of coquetry, support the elegant Parisian woman. It is perhaps easier to imagine Diana the Huntress and her retinue under the natural aspects of the Albanian woman.

155 The marshes, the great forests or the mighty mountains do not frighten her at all.

They will go into these places without fear. They will, under any conditions, willingly take the place of their husbands or brothers should the necessity arise, for the national sentiment, so dominant in the Albanian race, inspires the woman as well as the man. In the history of Albania there are numerous examples of the heroism of women as well as men which recall the admirable anecdotes of Spartan history.

The Albanian women acquire the right of coquetry, but they have the art as surely as their Parisian sisters. This is readily realized when they are seen arrayed in their beautiful gold-embroidered dresses with their magnificent tresses becomingly adjusted under their head-dress.

As a rule the women of Albania are generally domesticated. They derive great pleasure from their homes and live out of it very little. It is in the home that she works and makes everything she needs—outside of her household duties, she finds time to embroider, to spin and much of the lovely silk handwork that one finds in Tirana, Elbasan and other Albanian cities, which is so skillfully done in lovely, harmonizing colors on the finest of

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

tissues, is made by the women who are so occupied with other duties! The Albanian wife in the cities is also acquainted with domestic industry—she knows not laziness. Many of them, being good housewives, try to flatter the tastes of their husbands. Culinary arts are by no means alien to her: her cakes and tarts may easily cause the best patissiers of Paris to cast an envious eye into her kitchen. She is her husband's companion, his daily associate, and he keeps the lady of his hearth informed of all his affairs and often asks her advice and seeks her suggestions.

Womanhood is universally respected in Albania. They are held in the highest regard in all places to the extent that she may go any place unmolested and even in a man's company he is the one who derives protection through her.

Negotiations for a truce of peace have formerly been intrusted many times to women, for they were allowed protection and safety in an enemy's camp where a man would never have survived.

Even in Albanian history women have played many important roles; as above-mentioned she has been endowed with strong

644 fail to contribute their assistance to whatever is being done for Albanian womanhood and youth.

Therefore, there is little wonder that the six sisters of King Zog are so well-beloved by all Albanians.

• 562 The moral code of the Albanians is sharply drawn in respect to their women. It is considered a very grave breach of etiquette to make them the object of jokes or stories. Any unfaithfulness on the part of Albanian women is very, very rare. However, under certain specified reasons, as provided by law, divorces are possible both in the Moslem and Christian religions.

814 562 The intellectual occupations also attract the attention of Albanian women. It is thus that Albanian erudition is honored with the presence of a woman, Dora d'Istra, who has written numerous volumes that are authorities, such as "La Suisse allemande et l'Ascension du Moenich," "La Vie monastique dans l'Eglise Orientale," "Les Femmes en Orient," etc. This capable writer is an ardent feminist, in the sensible use of the word and she has done much in directing the Albanian women to intellectual freedom.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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291 wear a coat of thick white woollen stuff, red trousers, an embroidered apron with fringe half a yard long, and on the head a blue kerchief. The dress of the Christians is similar in form but usually of a violet colour. The *yashmak* and *feridgé* (veil and cloak) of [563] the Turkish women is worn out of doors by the [562] Moslem women in the towns, and also, if they live in close proximity to Moslems, by the Christian women. The cloak of the latter is, however, of a different shape and of a light red colour, with a cross embroidered in front. This distinctive dress is said to have been imposed by a native pasha, who, being attracted by a Christian girl, not knowing her to be such, asked her in marriage and was refused.

The country women, however, both of mountain and plain, and whether Christian or Moslem, go about unveiled. Their costumes vary extremely in detail, but are generally of stout homespun and felt, and in [171] form resemble those of the Greek and Bulgarian peasants of Macedonia, the leading features of which are two aprons worn under a coat. In the villages of the plains, however, a blue petticoat, trimmed [531] with red bands, is worn over an embroidered linen gown, with a bodice of white cloth embroidered in black.

302 Albanian ladies appear to be even more addicted than Osmanlis to the use of cosmetics. No sooner are they married than they begin to dye their hair [303] with a decoction made from gall-nuts and palm oil, paint their eyelashes, and extend their eyebrows till they meet over the nose. For their skins they use a "wash" in which various deleterious ingredients

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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enter, redden their lips and cheeks with iris powder or carmine, and stain their nails and the palms of their hands with henna.

The social status of the Albanian women varies according to district and creed. The Liaps and the Christians of Southern Albania and Epirus generally occupy the least enviable position, all the hard out-of-door work devolving upon them. The Northern Albanians and also the Tosks, on the other hand, treat their wives with much greater consideration, consult them willingly in their affairs, both public and private, and accord them a position in the family almost equal to their own. And well do they merit the respect of their husbands and brothers. For often have they proved themselves to be fit companions for men, unmindful of fatigue, danger, and even death in the cause of liberty. When the armies of the Sultan menaced the privileges of which the people of Scutari had always been proud, it was the women who were the first to give the alarm and to excite the men to resist to the death, themselves following to aid in the combat. Restraining the tears natural to their sex, they would carry the mutilated bodies of their loved ones among the combatants in order to excite them to avenge their deaths. And the same women are said to have refused to receive back into their homes the husbands and sons who had for a moment turned their backs upon the enemy.

Albanian women, too, are often entrusted with negotiations for truce or peace. Such is the respect with which Albanians regard their women that they

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562 628 728

may traverse the camps of belligerents with greater safety than men. The terms of treaties of peace, too, are often discussed by the women belonging to the hostile parties in the privacy of the harems of the chieftains. More ready, however, as a rule, are they to espouse and take part in the quarrels of their male relatives than to act as peacemakers, and, owing to their practice of carrying arms, they are always ready for a fray. Miss Mackenzie relates that, when traversing the Pass of Katchanik, her attention was directed by her escort to two Albanian women whom they chanced to meet. "Look at them," he cried, "they are women worth looking at, for well do they know how to handle a gun!"

"Are they Moslems?" asked the traveller.

"Assuredly."

"But they do not wear the yashmak."

"Not they, indeed," was the reply. "They have never worn it, and why should they? for they are fiercer and more unapproachable than men."[1]

159 175 562

Such being the character of the Albanian women, it is not surprising that they have played a considerable part in the history of their country. It was, indeed, to the indomitable energy and courageous spirit of his mother, Khamko, that Ali Pasha, the "Lion of Ioannina," owed the earlier successes that paved the way for his subsequent brilliant career. Ali, who had during his father's lifetime been a wild and intractable boy, appears at his death to have submitted with the utmost docility to the authority of his mother. This lady, who was the daughter of a

[1] *Through Macedonia to the Albanian Lakes.*

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Bey of Konitza, and connected with some of the best Tosk families, had not, until the death of her husband placed the responsibility for the well-being of the family in her hands, given any signs of the extraordinary strength of character and readiness of resource which afterwards distinguished her, qualities which were, however, sullied by an implacability of soul which only too nearly resembled that displayed by Olympias, the mother of Alexander, herself a native of Epirus.

"To my mother," said the tyrant of Ioannina on one occasion to the French Consul-General—"to my mother I owe everything, for my father left me but a mere hole (τρύπα) and a few fields. My imagination, fired by the counsels of her who had twice given me birth—for she has made me both a *man* and a *vizier*—revealed to me the secret of my destiny."[1] The hereditary enemies of the family having at once taken advantage of its head being a minor, by seizing upon some of his lands, Khamko suddenly exchanged the distaff for the sword, and gathering round her the partisans of her house, and those among her late husband's vassals who still remained faithful, tried in various skirmishes her strength against that of the enemies of her family. In these raids she was accompanied by her young son, to whom she pointed out the lands of which he had been despoiled, and the estates of the despoilers. Braving every danger, the *Aghadina*, as Khamko was called by her followers, continued to harass her enemies by open hostility or secret intrigue until she was finally taken in an

[1] See pp. 245 and 319, *Fate*.

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ambuscade by the men of Gardiki and Tchormovo, together with Ali and her only daughter, Shainitza. After having been subjected to every indignity and outrage by their captors, Khamko and her children had the good fortune to be ransomed by the generosity of a Greek merchant for the sum of 22,800 piastres (£3700).

Hatred of those who had thus humiliated her took entire possession of the Aghadina's soul, and her one idea thenceforward was to train up her son as the avenger of her wrongs. With this object she commenced to instil into his mind those pernicious principles which he was only too well disposed to receive, and which may be summed up in the words *Might is right*, an adage sufficiently popular among the turbulent Albanian clans. Ali's first attempt to vindicate his rights in the field was a complete failure. Having met with a more vigorous resistance than he expected, he fled from the fight, and was one of the first to re-enter Tepeleni. Khamko, furious at finding all her hopes blasted by what she deemed his cowardice, loaded him with reproaches, and thrusting her distaff into his hand, added, "Go, coward, and spin with the women in the harem; thou art fitter for that than for the career of arms!" Ali's fortunes indeed fluctuated for some time between success and failure. While he was absent on a campaign, Khamko found herself on her death-bed, and, though repeated and urgent messages were despatched to him, she died before he could arrive. The Aghadina in her will bequeathed to her son and daughter the task of immolating to her *manes* the inhabitants of Gardiki and Tchormovo, at whose hands they had suffered such

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unpardonable indignities, and over her dead body the brother and sister swore to utterly exterminate her enemies.

Some years later Shainitza was grieving for the death of her favourite son, Aden Bey. So wild was her sorrow that she smashed with a hammer all his and her own diamond ornaments, burnt all her cashmeres and valuable furs, and forced his young widow to lie on straw mats spread on the ground instead of on a bed. The mirrors and ornaments of her serail were also destroyed, its windows were by her order painted black,[1] and everything which in any way recalled joy or happiness was banished from the palace. Roused from this abandonment of grief by the news of the fall of Gardiki,[2] she wrote to Ali reminding him of the oath they had sworn together over their mother's corpse, and of her wrongs and theirs, and urged him to have no mercy on the inhabitants of that town. "As for me," she added in conclusion, "it is only on cushions stuffed with the hair of the women of Gardiki that Shainitza will henceforward repose!"

Faithfully was the terrible oath, sworn to the dead, kept both by brother and sister. The chief men of Gardiki, to the number of some three hundred, induced by fair promises to meet Ali at the Khan of Valieré, were there ruthlessly massacred by the Christian troops under his Greek lieutenant, Thanasé

[1] See p. 265; and compare similar custom in folk-tale, p. 315.

[2] In 1802. A Greek folk-song graphically describes the gallant defence made by this town, which was taken by one of Ali's lieutenants, "Yousóuf the Arab" (*Greek Folk-songs*, p. 234).

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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175 Vaghia,[1] not one escaping. Shainitza caused the town
159 to be razed to the ground, and, after cutting off the
[669] hair of the women with every insult which she could heap upon them, this tigress in human form drove them forth with their children to the mountains, menacing any with a like doom who should venture to give food or shelter to the objects of her wrath. The traveller passing through the valley of Drynopolis may to this day see in the wall of the khan the tablet which records, in letters of gold, the number of the dead and the date of their sacrifice to the *manes* of the mother and the fury of the sister of the Vizier of Ioannina.

[428] In a codicil to her will, Khamko directed that a *hadji*, or pilgrim, should be despatched on her part to lay offerings on the tomb of the Prophet, and pray
788 there for the repose of her soul. Such pilgrimages and offerings may, however, only be made when the expenses are defrayed with money lawfully and honestly acquired. And as it was found on inquiry into the estate of the late Veli Bey, Ali's ancestor, that the property to be sold for this purpose had been taken by force or fraud from a Christian, the pilgrim-
175 age was disallowed by the religious authorities.
159
562 Such extreme ferocity of disposition as that mani-
[152] fested by Khamko and Shainitza is, however, exceptional among Albanian women, and even in Ali Pasha's

[1] The Greek poet, Aristotle Valaorites, has made Thanasé Vaghia the subject of one of his most striking poems, Ὁ βρυκόλακας, "The Vampire," a translation of which may be found in my *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 121. The tragedy of Ἡ κυρὰ φροσύνη, "The Lady Phrosyne," by the same writer, part of which I saw acted in an open-air theatre at Salonica, gives a vivid picture of Ali Pasha and his Court.

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own household was one whose character stands out in striking contrast to theirs. This was the Vizier's favourite wife, Emineh, the daughter of the Pasha of Delvino, a chieftain whose ruthless cruelty had gained for him the surname of the Tiger, but who had fallen a victim to Ali's ambition. In the dirges sung by the Liaps on the death of her husband, Emineh is described as "the gentle hind of Mount Pelagos," and her sympathy for the victims of the Vizier's rancour brought about her untimely and tragical end.

When the news arrived at Ioannina of the fall of Souli, Emineh, touched with the story of their heroism, fell at the Vizier's feet and implored his clemency on their behalf. "O Effendi!" she cried, clasping his knees, "deign to listen to thy most devoted slave, and be not insensible to her tears! Your Fate has warned me in a dream that it will be well for you if you spare the Souliotes!"

"The *Souliotes!*" exclaimed the Vizier, in a voice of thunder—"the *Souliotes!* Darest thou intercede for my worst enemies and not tremble for thyself?"

"Effendi," replied the brave woman, rising with dignified firmness—"Effendi, remember that I am the daughter of a Pasha. Yes, I dare intercede for them, and, moreover, dare to tell thee that their blood, and the blood of my unhappy father, which thou hast shed whilst I was yet a child, will be upon thy head!"

"And upon thine also," replied the Vizier, beside himself with fury. Drawing from his girdle a pistol, he discharged it at his wife, who, falling in a swoon, was carried by her slaves into the haremlik. Ali, think-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

ing he had killed her, and overcome with grief and remorse, shut himself up in his most private apartments until he was informed by his physician that Emineh was not even wounded, but had merely fainted from emotion. His mind thus relieved, Ali shed tears, and, with all his tenderness for his favourite wife revived, proceeded to her apartment. Admittance being from fear refused him, he entered the chamber by force. The noise, however, and the sight of the tyrant, gave to the tender Emineh a shock which proved fatal, and she expired during the night in a state of delirium.

The death of Emineh was a terrible shock also to her murderer. Her memory perpetually haunted him, whether at the festal board or in the council chamber, and, above all, in the silent watches of the night. He feared to be left alone, and was frequently heard by his pages to start up, and exclaim: "Emineh! it is she!—it is she! Save me from her vengeance!" Years later, when the Dervish Sheikh, Youssouf, while boldly reproving the Vizier for his crimes and cruelties, pointed out from the window the tomb of the murdered Emineh, he was interrupted by Ali, who exclaimed with tears: "Stop, stop, my father! Thou hast named the name of Emineh; overwhelm me not with the weight of thy maledictions!"

An account of the Albanian women would hardly be complete without some mention of the terrible blood-feuds (*Ram de Ghiak*), which, though often originating in the most trifling causes, result in great loss of life, and are frequently handed down from generation to generation. Sometimes these feuds

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

exist between individuals or families only; at others, whole villages, or clans, are concerned in them. In carrying them on, however, certain traditional rules are punctiliously adhered to, and occasionally those concerned, finding the state of continual hostility irksome, agree to a *bessa*, or truce, for a fixed period. When entire clans take part in the feud, each keeps strictly to its own wells or fountains, its public ovens and its markets. Such dissensions, however, rarely interrupt the usual occupation of a district, the land being tilled and the flocks pastured as usual in the daytime, the combatants assembling for the fray at evening on the common or in the market-place of the town or village. When a few men have bitten the dust, the hostile parties withdraw, in order to bury the dead, and the battle is over for the time.

Though women are not the principals in these vendetta, it is no uncommon thing for them to take part in the bloody frays to which they give rise, and for which their custom of carrying arms makes them always ready. Mrs. Blunt describes[1] a combat of this description which took place in the neighbourhood of Uskup (Skopia), the cause of contention being merely a hare, to which two sportsmen laid equal claim. As neither would give in, it was decided that the case should be tried by combat on the village green. The duel, however, soon became a general *mêlée*, relatives and friends joining the principals, and women fighting by the side of their husbands and brothers. One girl of seventeen, the sister of one of the sportsmen, fought, it is said, with a desperation and success

[1] *The People of Turkey*, vol. i. p. 81.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

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worthy of a better cause, and fourteen victims fell, thus perpetuating the feud among the survivors.

On another occasion the breaking of a girl's pitcher at the fountain by two mischievous boys resulted in such a desperate contest between her friends and theirs that some sixty persons fell in the fight. It is said, however, that even on such occasions as these the men refrain, as far as possible, from striking or wounding the women, for the Albanian code of honour makes it impossible to attack a woman, whether armed or unarmed. The sacredness attached to their persons extends also to those whom they take under their protection. Escorted by a girl only, travellers may safely pass through the wildest parts of the country, and a man may cross, without fear, the lands of one with whom he is at feud, if he have the safe-conduct of a woman belonging to his enemy's family.

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To such an extent is respect for women carried by the Albanians, that it is contrary to their notions of propriety ever to make women the subject of jokes or humorous stories. Insult or annoyance offered to a girl, or carrying off one without the consent of her parents, almost invariably results in bitter feuds between families, or fierce battles between tribes. As with most mountain people, the moral code is with the Skipetars exceedingly strict. Among many of the tribes any lapse from virtue on the part of a woman is punished with death, a subsequent marriage not being allowed to condone the fault. The penalty of adultery is of equally Draconic severity. The unfaithful wife is placed up to her shoulders in a pit, and

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4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880)-1891
EG1 Albania EG1

retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep which constituted Clement's wages. Here they settled down and prospered, leaving behind them great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of descendants. At the present day the tribe of the Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls.

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot, out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her family without risking the loss of her reputation, a calamity which few would care to survive. M. Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his friends, and before several other persons, that he had seen her in conversation with a young man, whose name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sunday, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucharist, called God to witness to her innocence, and seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man whose careless words had been the cause of the tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother.

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

586 Kadi, his wife may claim to be released from her vows to him. Other sufficient causes for divorce are ill-treatment, aberration of mind, and excessive corpulence on the part of the husband.

562 462 The Moslem Albanian, when he marries, is, like the Osmanli, bound to provide his wife with food, clothes, and shelter in keeping with his position and means, and cannot require her, as do the Christians, to earn money for herself or for him by her labour. She, on her side, is required to obey her husband and never oppose his wishes, to abstain from anything likely to annoy or vex him, and to watch over the interests of the family, and, if poor, she must do the work of the house, cook the food, do the dairy work, spin the [283] wool and flax necessary for the family use. The Albanian generally has no fondness for field labour, which he usually leaves to the women, children, and old men, and, when he does not follow the calling of a soldier or trader, prefers wood-cutting, attending to his vineyard, or, still more, tending sheep on the mountains, a pursuit which combines laziness with peril.

463 Besides those who enter the military service, numbers seek fortune in the large towns of Turkey, as traders, *cavasses*—a kind of orderly attached to Embassies, Consulates, banks, and other public offices, in which capacity they are much esteemed for their devotion to their employers—or in other positions of trust. As soon as they have amassed sufficient money to enable them to do so, they return home and marry, in order to prove themselves respectable members of [593 591] society. After a brief sojourn in the bosom of their families they return to their employment, leaving

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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their young wives in charge of their parents. For with the Skipetars, as with the majority of Oriental peoples, patriarchal customs still survive, and all the sons bring home their brides to the paternal roof, there to remain in subjection to the parents-in-law until they shall themselves be heads of families.

The highest aspiration of an Albanian wife is to be the mother of boys, and she is less proud of her own beauty and the rank of her family than of the number of her sons and of their valour. The mother of many sons is sure of the lasting affection of her husband, enjoys the respect and consideration of the rest of his family, and wields great authority in the household to which she has come as a stranger. As they never permanently leave the paternal roof, she may look forward to their support and affection in her old age, and to see their children growing up around her. When her husband leaves his home for a sojourn at a distance, custom requires that she should manifest no grief at his departure. Instead of accompanying him to the threshold, and watching his familiar figure disappear in the distance, or going to meet him on his arrival, she hides herself at both the moment of his arrival and of his departure. A woman's tears or joy, they say, must not soften a man's heart when his duty lies before him. Neither must they ask for news of them at any time during their absence. Yet in the depth of their hearts no wives more regret the absence of their husbands, as the touching little superstitious observances with which they console themselves testify. Unknown to their partners, they sew in their clothes

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

484 562 777 789 small objects, which they themselves have worn, as talismans to ensure their safe return, and during their often protracted absences they resort to various 787 methods of divination, either with or without the aid of a professional wise woman, in order to discover how their beloved spouses fare, where they sojourn, and how they are occupied.

152 593 The men on their side are not free from home-sickness, and many are the pathetic little exile-songs, in which their longings for their native mountains, and for the beloved ones from whom they are, for a time, separated, find expression. One may serve as a specimen:

[539]

Now in Bender, now in Buda,
Bide we lone and desolate.
Patience, heart! What boots complaining,
So it hath been willed by Fate.

Yet this grievous bitter exile
Cannot longer still be borne;
Is't naught that we like felons wander
From Fatherland as outlaws lorn?

Who the exile's griefs can number?
Say whose woes can equal mine?
E'en the viper, should she sting me,
Poisoned by my blood would pine!

527 535 The amusements of the Albanian women are, for the most part, limited to birth and wedding festivities, at which singing and dancing are the principal features. Albanian dances are of two kinds: the Pyrrhic, as it is called by travellers, which is usually indulged in by the men, and a kind of "kerchief dance," which is affected by the women, the two sexes always performing separately. The women dance in couples,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

great measure to the profession of three creeds by the Albanian people, Turkish only being taught in the Moslem schools; in the Roman Catholic, Italian; and in the Orthodox Christian, Greek. The only section of the Albanians who can boast of any degree of culture are the Khams, and even this is not indigenous, but is borrowed entirely from the Epirote Greeks of Ioannina and its neighbourhood.

The education of the vast majority of Albanian girls, whether Moslem or Christian, is of a purely domestic character, and, with the exception of a small number of Gheg and Tosk maidens of the better class, who are taught a little reading and writing and a great deal of etiquette by old lady *hodjas*, they are entirely unlettered. From the age of twelve to the time of their marriage, which generally takes place before they are sixteen, both Moslem and Christian girls are condemned to complete seclusion from the outer world. The customs of the Christians in this respect are, indeed, more rigid than those of the Moslems, for their daughters are not, during this interval, allowed to present themselves before visitors even of their own sex. Time is not, however, allowed to hang heavily upon the hands of these maidens, whatever their position and prospects. Besides taking an active part in all household duties, there is the important task to accomplish of getting ready her trousseau, and this involves the spinning, weaving, sewing, and embroidering of the various stuffs, cotton, linen, woollen, and silken, of which it is to be composed.

The peasant and country girls generally, both of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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the mountains and of the plains, enjoy, as has been seen, much greater liberty than their sisters of the towns. With the exception of the Miridites, social intercourse with members of the other sex is not denied to them, and, like the Greek and Vlach maidens, they tend the flocks on the hills, fetch water from the fountain, and lead a life generally of healthy industry.

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4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER IX.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FAMILY CEREMONIES.

562 184 THE domestic usages of the Albanians vary slightly, according to locality and religion, but are, in their main features, identical. And though the customs surrounding such family ceremonies as births, marriages, and deaths belong naturally more to the domain of women than of men, the latter are not less scrupulous in the fulfilment of the part in these observances which fall to their share.

156 181 Tribal and family pride being, as has been already seen, the leading feature of Albanian character, the desire of offspring, and especially male offspring, is naturally very strong with them. A childless man [554] is designated by an expression which signifies "without a root," and is looked upon as a most unfortunate [754] being. The wish, "May you be childless!" is also considered the most weighty curse that can be launched against a man by his enemy. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the dearest wish of every woman's heart is consequently to be the mother of a numerous family of boys, both for the sake of the future prosperity of the tribe and for the present social consideration which their birth ensures to her. 843 When the fact that an Albanian woman is about to

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

over the infant. In the case of a boy all now touch the cradle while they sing:

Poganik, When the boy grows a man,
A weaver we'll make him,
And money he'll bring us.[1]

And for a girl:

Poganik, When our girl grows up tall,
She shall go to the valley
And bring us much water.

The company now separate, each person carrying home with her a piece of the Poganik cake, which is believed to possess beneficial qualities, and distributes it among the members of her household. When they have left, honey and other delicacies are laid out for the refection of the Fateful Three, the dogs are shut up, and the gates left open.

Until the baby is forty days old neither mother nor child must leave the house, nor, after sunset, the room, for fear of supernal beings. During this period the fire is carefully kept up, and an ember of it must on no account be given to a neighbour, or all kinds of evil will ensue. Whoever has occasion to enter the house after nightfall, must leap over a firebrand laid on the threshold. Music and singing are also rigidly refrained from for fear of attracting the powers of the air.

The ceremony of naming the child is performed by the Christian Albanians according to the baptismal rite of the churches to which they respectively

[1] Weaving was formerly a trade in high repute with the artisan class of Albanians, who left their homes to work in the towns where it was carried on.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585 an altar is specially prepared. The nearest relatives of the bridegroom only are present, and he, like the bride, simulates great unwillingness to enter the apartment. The mass performed, the priest asks the bride three times if she accepts the man kneeling at her side for her husband. Custom, however, forbids her to [577] reply, and at the third interrogation the women in attendance force her to bow her head in token of assent. The bridegroom, on the contrary, pronounces his consent in a loud voice. However plain the bride may prove to be, custom forbids that any sign of disgust or annoyance should be manifested. If, however, she be afflicted with any physical deformity, such as lameness, blindness, or a humped back, the husband may claim an indemnity from her parents, or, if he is prepared to abide the consequences of such an insult, may send her back to them.

The ceremony terminated, the bridegroom leaves the room, and the female guests re-enter, extolling in song the graces and virtues with which, according to [562 264] them, every bride is endowed. The feast is then served, the men sitting down by themselves in one room, and the women in another, and the two parties amuse themselves separately for the rest of the evening. An hour before midnight, the women conduct the bride to the nuptial chamber, and, having taken off her bridal finery, cover her face with a veil, and leave her. When the bridegroom enters, he simulates astonishment at finding a maiden there. Lifting the veil from her head, he declares himself to be enraptured with her beauty, and asks her a hundred questions. The bride feigns sleep and pretends not to

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

them. Great Scott, woman! And you sit there and talk about Constantinople!"

"But if nobody goes there, how can we do so?" I said.

"How does anyone ever do anything? Simply do it. Hire horses, get on them, and go."

"Carrying our own guns?"

"Oh, we'll be safe enough! We may run into a blood feud or two, and get our guides shot up, but nobody ever harms a woman. Nobody even shoots a man in her presence."

"She means no Albanian ever does," said Alex.

"Bless 'em!" said Frances, and added, in Albanian, "Glory to their feet!"

I had the vaguest notion of Albania. I knew it was the smallest and newest member of the League of Nations; I knew it was in the Balkan wars, and I knew that recently the Albanians had driven from their shores the Italian army of occupation. If some one, testing my intelligence or psycho-analyzing, had said to me, "Albanians," I should have replied, "Bandits."

But Frances Hardy is irresistible in more ways than one. Therefore, on this spring morning, while mists rose slowly from the blue waters of Lake Scutari and the shadows of the mountains retreated from its shores, we were riding northward toward the lands of the mountain tribes.

There were four of us, not counting our retainers. No, five, for at the last moment small, chubby-cheeked Rexh,[1] in his red Mohammedan

[1] Rexh—pronounced Redge.

PEAKS OF SHALA

423 the swiftest flicker of a glance, it was—I offered
578 her one. She took it, thanked me, lighted it from mine.

"A bold woman," said Perolli.

"Why?"

[562] "In these mountains[1] the women smoke, but
[574] not before men; that is a man's privilege, and it is unwomanly to smoke in their presence. Are you a woman?" he asked her, in Albanian.

"A woman of Pultit, married in Shala. A widow with two children, demanding justice from my tribe," she said.

I looked about. There was nothing but snow and wet earth to sit on. Well, she must have been standing for hours, watching the goats. I leaned on my staff. "What justice?" said I.

She told us with a calm precision; none of her people's rhetorical flourishes. Even through the barrier of language I could see that she was stating her case as a lawyer might who was not addressing a jury.

She had been married five years; she was twenty-one years old. She had two children—boys. While she was married her husband had built a house. It was a large house; two rooms. She had helped her husband build that house. With her own hands she had laid the slate on the roof. She liked that house. She had lived in it four years. Now her husband had been killed by the Serbs and she wanted to keep that house. She wanted to live in it, alone, with her two children.

[1] [Albanian mountains-- [98] Analyst]

582 place in the tribe. Naturally, when they see
302 you, at your age, with short hair, they think that is what you did. If you were an Albanian no one would dream of marrying you, for the man to whom your parents gave you would have to kill your husband to clear his honor, and all the chiefs before whom you had sworn would be bound in honor to see that your husband was killed. But America is a long way off; that man and the chiefs would hardly come so far after you, especially as your customs are so different.
581 Besides, I think Lulash would take the chance,
562 anyhow. He really very much wants a woman to help him with the people, and he will not marry a mountain woman."

"You mean he would listen to my ideas and take my advice—you mean he wants a wife who will be his equal, a sort of partner?"

"Of course. What else is a wife? He would like nothing better than to have you give him American ideas."

"But I thought a woman had no rights at all, here."

"How absurd! She has all the rights that a man has."

"But women aren't in the tribal councils?"

"They are when it's a council of the whole tribe. They aren't chiefs, no. But chiefs always talk things over with their wives."

583 "But women are bought and sold. You just said so. Didn't you say you were offered twenty thousand kronen for me?"

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

"It's an unusual situation. Here you are, 583
without a family; I'm the only man in the party; naturally he thinks of me as in the position of a brother or a father. The man's family always pays money to the girl's family before a marriage, but the girl isn't sold; she's been betrothed in her childhood, for any number of reasons. The money the man pays is spent for the girl's clothes and household things."

"Then you'd be supposed to give me the twenty thousand kronen? And then it would be his again, after all."

"Of course not. It's yours, isn't it? No one [562] has any right to a woman's personal belongings, except her."

"You mean I could do anything I liked with it? I wouldn't have to have his consent?"

"Of course you could do anything you liked with it," Perolli said, wearily. "This isn't Europe."

"Obviously," said I. "Nor America."

"Well, what do you say? Do you want to ooo do it?"

Men ask women to marry them for many reasons and from many motives, even though they are all lumped under the word "love." Sometimes the asking is an honor that should make any woman, either happily or regretfully, proud. And sometimes it isn't. For myself, I shall always remember as one of my finest experiences this offer of a scalplocked Shala chief to pay twenty thousand kronen for me. There was

PEAKS OF SHALA

They smoked over this for some time. The byraktor rescued his coffee pot, in deep abstraction. I did not expect them to believe what I had said. How could they? It must have appeared to them the wildest of fairy tales (although in all Albania there are no fairies, and therefore —I suppose that is the reason—there are no Albanian fairy tales). Men suffered much at the hands of our ancestors for telling them the monstrous idea that the flat earth is round. I wished I knew what thoughts were taking shape behind those dark Albanian eyes.

Then the byraktor looked up. "If the solid earth is round," he said, "and if the water lies upon it in a curve, then this earth is moving very rapidly. For if the earth were standing still the water would fall off."

My astonishment was profound. I felt myself a child beside that mind, and I thought that a man who could so wrestle with a new fact and evolve from it an even more amazing conclusion was no man for me to contend with in a little matter of hiring a mule and getting, somehow, to Scutari.

Presently large flocks of sheep and goats were driven through the room, past the fire, and into the darkness beyond the arched doorway. Rain-drenched shepherdesses, half clad in rags, followed them, and having, with much noise of tearing branches, given them their dried oak boughs to eat during the night, the shepherdesses returned and sat by the fire, addressing the byraktor in tones of accustomed equality.

[In house of Shoshi warchief [255] -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

Women among the clans were but the slaves and chattels of their men. In the mountains they went unveiled but almost all were prematurely aged by manual labour and child-bearing. Sometimes we saw one hurrying across a courtyard or peering up at us from the kitchen fire; otherwise they had no part in our lives.

Social distinctions among the guerillas were subtle and changing; the chieftains and their sons were treated with respect but never with servility; and the bodyguards sometimes as poor relations but always as members of the same family. They ate and slept together, and, in so far as he could, the host provided alike for all. Luxuries in the mountains were inevitably scarce, but, if the choicest morsels went to the *Beys* and elders, the rest received their portion until the whole was finished. The Ghegs indeed regard hospitality as a sacred duty enjoined upon the host, never as a favour conferred upon the guest. To give of his best was a point of honour, and a tribesman would kill his last ewe lamb, or even his milch goat, rather than fail to set meat before the meanest of his guests. In the days of slavery Albanians had been known to sell their wives or children to feast a stranger; and one story which I heard illustrates the extent of their honourable, if quixotic, liberality. In the repression which followed the rising of the Scutari clans early in the last century the bravest of the insurgent leaders, a Catholic chieftain, was captured and brought before the Turkish governor. The Pasha gave the order to cut off his head but, as the proud Albanian knelt to receive the fatal stroke, the Turk was moved by a dark and sudden curiosity:

"You are a brave man," he said. "Tell me, have you ever known a worse moment than this?"

The Albanian looked up and answered gravely: "Only once; when a stranger came to my house and I had not even bread to set before him."

For the sake of the answer, his life was spared.

We spent several days among the men of Mati, resting in sunlit orchards, or cool, whitewashed rooms, or round their

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

us, now reduced to fifteen men, continued southwards, still hoping to reach the Kukes–Scutari road before it was light. The men were tired, however, for we had been marching seven hours; and the sun had already risen when we crossed the motor road into the great beech forests of Mirdita. As we learned only later, a German patrol caught sight of us just as we crossed the road. Had they pursued us we must have been overtaken; for once in Mirdita we dropped to a leisurely climbing pace and indulged ourselves in frequent halts. Instead they sought to head us off by taking a short cut; but the forests of Mirdita are dark and trackless, and we passed like ships in the night.

We soon lost our way in these forests, and were forced to climb some five thousand feet to the rocky summit of Mount Rones to take our bearings. We sat there for a time, but hunger discouraged us from resting, and we struck a south-westerly course downhill into the valley of the Lesser Fani. Our ponies were too lame and galled to ride; and we had been marching seventeen hours when, towards three o'clock, we reached the house of Gyok Bairaktar. Gyok was a Mirdite chieftain and many years before had been an ally of Muharrem. Since those days, however, he had fallen on evil times, and we found him living in the utmost poverty and squalor. His home was a wooden hut, divided into two rooms, one of which housed his goats and womenfolk, while the other was kept for his guests, himself, and his sons.

"That's a funny sort of *Bairaktar*," said Shaqir, our interpreter, "he hasn't even got any trousers."

Poor Gyok indeed was dressed in nothing but a dirty white shirt and long cotton drawers, having thriftily put away his one pair of breeches for the summer. He gave us a light meal of eggs and milk; for besides his milch goats he had no flocks or cattle, and offered us a pinkish *raki* which I could scarcely stomach, even after the fatigues of the march. But despite his miserable circumstances, which in Mirdita were the rule rather than the exception, Gyok was a loyal liege of Marko Joni. He was frankly disturbed to hear that we were British officers, and, when we sought to learn his political opinions, answered sharply:

[Constitution]

641 No privilege because of family, position in life, wealth,
554 or cultural level is recognized.

ARTICLE 13

[563] All citizens are equal regardless of nationality, race, or
[659] religion. Any act which grants privileges or takes away rights from any citizen because of nationality, race, or religion is unconstitutional and carries with it punishments as provided by law. It is unconstitutional and punishable by law to stir up hatred and dissension among nationalities, races, or religions.

ARTICLE 14

666 All citizens who have reached the age of eighteen are
641 eligible to elect and be elected in all organs of state, regardless of sex, nationality, race, creed, cultural level, or residence.

Members of the armed forces also have these rights.

The right to vote is universal, equal, direct, and secret.

The right to vote is forfeited by those who have been disqualified by law.

ARTICLE 15

562 Women are equal to men in all walks of life, private, political, or social.

Women shall receive the same pay as men for the same work. And women have similar rights with regard to social security.

745 The government especially protects the interests of mothers and young children, by assuring vacations with pay before and after childbirth and also by building maternity hospitals and nurseries.

ARTICLE 16

659 Freedom of conscience and religion is guaranteed to all citizens.

The church is separated from the state.

Religious communities are free to exercise and practice their creeds.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

dining-table, to filch what it could. It was never caressed or deliberately fed; the whole Balkans believed that either indulgence would stop it from catching mice.

A man and his wife, with one or two small children, might live in this house. Of a kind hardly paralleled in the Balkans, except in the poorer parts of southern Greece, it was not common in Albania as a permanent dwelling. As soon as its master could scrape together the necessary money, he added a sitting-room. As he provided all the labour himself and needed to hire only one professional, a stone-mason who, like all his brethren in the Balkans, was also a carpenter, ten pounds sterling were enough. The sitting-room might be built on top of the kitchen (*shtëpí* or *shpi*, lit. 'house', from Lat. *hospitium*) or against one of its walls. It had a wooden floor, a chimney at one end, a window or two, a niche in the wall beside the hearth for the utensils for making coffee, and a few wooden pegs near the door on which to hang up rifles; it might also have a ceiling. It generally had a separate entrance, for sitting-rooms were men's apartments and Catholic, Moslem, and Orthodox Albanians all segregated their young women. The Catholics and Orthodox attributed this custom to plain jealousy, and the Moslems, less convincingly, to a desire to obey their Prophet's order. In the evening and when not at work outside during the daytime, the master of the house with his men guests reclined, ate and smoked in the sitting-room, while his wife and children remained in the draughty kitchen. But the men were less comfortable than might have been expected. Since Albanian chimneys seldom drew, acrid fumes from the wood fire filled the room and almost made them weep unmanly tears. But not quite, for if they succumbed, they would be derided as 'poor sticks' who 'would never see to shoot'.

Guests, in the form of family friends or strangers 'sent by God', often came for a night. Because there were no inns in the Albanian countryside except on the long-distance tracks used by pack-horses, it was the rule that a benighted stranger might claim supper and shelter till the morning from any house he saw. The hospitality was never refused or charged for, but travellers of standing were expected to give a sum proportionate not to the hospitality offered but to their supposed wealth.

As soon as the children in a two-roomed house grew up, its master must build again. His daughters went forth to live in their

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to keep the structure rigid. When a light roof thatched with straw or more boughs had been nailed on and the inner walls had been plastered with mud, the hut was ready for occupation. Quickly built and costing only the price of the nails, it was often larger and more comfortable than the sitting-room in the adjacent house. A folk-tradition says it was long the handsomest dwelling to which any country Albanian aspired. At lower altitudes in Shpat the huts were flimsier as befitted the milder climate. They were usually made of reeds plastered with cow-dung, which was sufficient to keep out the wind.

Three houses of more splendid type, each containing about forty souls, exist at Dibër—Hysni Dema's at Homesh, Murat Kaloshi's at Kandër, and Cen Elezi's at Sllovë. The owners were rich and most hospitable Moslem notables. As some of the older generation were schooled in Constantinople, they complemented their culture and their position by building establishments of Turkish inspiration, with separate blocks of buildings for the men's apartments (Tk. *selamlik*), stables, granaries, storehouses, kitchens and women's apartments (Tk. *haremlik*). These are all enclosed within a high stone wall with defensive turrets at every weak point, especially near the one and only gateway. The women's apartments are really only a series of bedrooms, one for each married man and his wife and children, and the women, for want of a common sitting-room, sit normally in the kitchen like their poorer sisters. Softer mattresses, richer floor-rugs, and fireplaces in the bedrooms indicate the family's wealth, but European beds, tables and chairs are still barred, partly to avoid rousing envy in more backward neighbours. Cen Elezi's sitting-room was a magnificent oblong, warmed by a log-fire in a huge chimney at the far end from the door and softly lit on both its long sides by a row of short windows at the top of the tall walls; enemies outside had as usual to be prevented from shooting through the outer windows, and the men inside must not be able to look through the inner ones at the women's apartments. In this room a hundred travellers supped and slept every night, going their separate ways at dawn; a chef, working in a kitchen of his own and slaughtering a couple of sheep or an ox per night, provided the unvarying menu of soup, boiled meat, bread and rice pilaff. In their retired kitchen the women catered for themselves and the children, when there was no overflow from the chef's.

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would not recognize them and when A came to till his field, B's dog would treat him as an intruder and bite him, and he would have no legal claim to compensation for the injury. It is not known if this law obtained elsewhere, but the common sense on which it is based makes it probable that it did. Again, in the Moslem villages near enough to Elbasan to conform to the rigidity with which Moslem townsmen secluded their women, it was not permitted to make windows in a wall overlooking a neighbour's farmyard; the latter's womenfolk must be free to move about their yard unwatched. This ban on windows—which was Moslem, not Albanian—hardly extended to remoter Moslem villages, as women there enjoyed almost as much liberty as did their Christian ancestresses.

A man's ownership of his house and land was so absolute that he and his might emigrate temporarily or for good without losing their title to either house or land. Even if the family absented itself for a hundred years, no one might squat on its property. If the emigrant, before leaving, sold his land 'together with all that is on it', and one leaving for good usually did so, the piece constituting the site of the house remained his in spite of the terms of sale, and so long as one stone stood on another, no one might use the site. In Mirditë, however, a fixed term was set to this law; if the emigrant did not return within ten years, his house might be occupied by whosoever wanted it.

Every dwelling that emitted smoke might have one or more of the following accessories—yard, vegetable garden, field, road, boundary and, in suitable latitudes, vineyard. Of these the boundary and road were the most indispensable.[1] Every owner of a dwelling that emitted smoke had a right to graze his animals on the summer and winter pasturage owned by his village and to cut firewood and timber for his own use in the public coppices and forests. If he cared to build a bothy for his shepherds on a summer pasture or to break in ground for a field or vegetable garden on a common near his village, he was welcome to do so. He must first secure the consent of the elders of the village, who generally put the common weal before individual convenience. Their permission given, no one could stop his tilling the ground, nor turn him out. Theoretically every dwelling that emitted smoke should also have a portion of irrigation water, but the right to sell water often made this provision a dead letter.

[1] See Chapters VIII and IX.

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CHAPTER IV

THE ALBANIAN HOUSEHOLD

Society in the Albanian mountains was patrilineal, and took so little account of women that whereas the names of ancestors in the male line might be known for as many as twenty generations, those in the female line were forgotten after two or three. In the words of the Unwritten Law 'a man has blood, and a woman kin', i.e. a man has a pedigree, and a woman her own relatives, and 'a woman is anybody's daughter', i.e. comes from anywhere and has no pedigree.

As usual in patrilineal societies, all property and rights were vested in the men. So when a man married, his house belonged to him exclusively and not at all to his wife, neither priest nor law having bound him to endow her with his worldly goods. The Unwritten Law states further that 'a wife is a sack for carrying' things, i.e. she was in her husband's house to bear his children. It was also understood, however, that she must take an active part in the work of both the farm and the house. In consequence, the wife in a household containing only a married pair and their small children led a life of almost unrelieved hardship, all the relaxations and leisure going to the husband. Since the Unwritten Law forbade her to have any dealings with the outside world until she was old, she stayed at home to work while her husband went to market to shop and sell, visited government offices to discuss the payment—or non-payment—of his taxes, and arranged the future marriages of his children. Whether it was a kerchief, a daughter-in-law, or nothing at all that he bought for her, he never consulted her wishes and she might not murmur openly at his choice. Nor might she remonstrate with him if he idled when at home; any such criticism would only make him beat her. The Unwritten Law said that the husband was the head of the wife and might punish her for indiscipline as well as misconduct. There was plenty of secret grumbling of course. Thus a pretty young woman in Mat was heard to complain that her husband spent all the money he could find on coffee and cigarettes for himself and left her, after five years of marriage, 'without a rag to her back'. 'And it's for him I toil

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and moil the whole blessed day', she ended, sadly rather than bitterly.

Toil and moil she did. The daily duties of every peasant woman in her position included fetching firewood from the forest and water from the river or spring, besides cooking, washing and baking for the household. At certain seasons she must also do farm work, so long as she retained a measure of youth. Her husband did heavy work like ploughing, scything hay, or cutting oak leaves for winter fodder. But she must carry the manure from the stable to the fields in spring, help her husband to sow and earth up the maize and, while he stayed indoors, reap it. She must carry home the hay and fodder and feed them to the animals. If grain was trodden out by horses or oxen, her husband drove them; if threshed with flails, she wielded them. If there was no miller, she conveyed the grist to the mill, ground it, and brought back the flour. Only if there were a miller did these tasks devolve on her husband, and then it was only in order to keep her virtue above suspicion. In poor families she was herself the beast of burden, and when young was expected to carry up to seventy pounds. In richer families she had a horse or donkey to do the actual carrying, unless her home was under snow in winter. Then she must brave the snow that confined the animal to its stable and bring in supplies of firewood and water, fodder and flour. Paucity of workers prevented her husband from having more than a couple of milch-goats or ewes, and these were tethered; it was she who tethered, watered and milked them. It was she, too, who turned their milk into curds (*kos*) or butter and cheese, arduous tasks in summer when milk sours easily. She also saw to the poultry and in her spare time knitted or span.

Fortunately for the women, there was almost no peasant household in which a young husband and wife were the only workers. The eldest child, boy or girl, began at seven or eight years of age to herd the goats as they roamed in search of food and saw to them morning and evening. This gave the mother some relief and provided the family with more food and, by the sale of the goats themselves or the kids, more money. When very small, the girl must spin or knit as she herded; when in her teens, she must sew her trousseau; but no extra tasks were expected of boy herds. Since, too, a man's mother and sisters never lost their legal right to share his home, a family might include the husband's mother and even

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592 When the men in a household were numerous, three or more might be shepherds, one tending the sheep, another the goats, and a third the oxen; several might be farmers who ploughed and hoed and irrigated; yet others might be housemen, one keeping the house supplied with firewood, a second going to the bazaar, and a third grinding grain at the local mill for the household's bread. Each thus contributed his quota to the family wealth, and obviously the more numerous the quotas, the greater the general comfort. A well-to-do household which had only a few men might make up the number of hands available by engaging servants. 'Çota's tableful' is now proverbial in Çermenikë because eighteen men—ten relatives and eight hirelings—used to sit down nightly to supper in Sali Çota's house in the village of Fenars in that district. If, however, a household were poor as well as small, it could not risk having to pay servants in a bad year, and must restrict its activities—for example, by keeping only sheep or goats but not both. Since sheep eat grass and goats leaves, they must have separate herds.

462 512 Even in the richest of these multiple households the women lived much as they did in small, poor ones. A housekeeper, who was generally elderly, cooked and baked for the whole family, swept the kitchen, the men's sitting-room, and her own bedroom if she had one apart from the kitchen, but did not enter any room belonging to a married man, even if he was her son. The young wives worked out of doors when required and at all times looked after their children, husband and bedroom. They were often exempt from fetching firewood and water and were reasonably fed and dressed, but otherwise fared no better than their poorer sisters. By and large, even in these relatively more leisured homes, women worked much harder than men. The latter excused their comparative idleness by saying that in Turkish times, when blood feuds raged, it had been death for most men to show their faces outside in the daytime, and if the family was not to die of starvation the women had to work for its bread. They claimed that when blood feuds grew rarer, they became more industrious. But they could never produce any evidence that the women had gained by their new diligence.

264 562 Soon after sunset the men sat down to sup at the same table in the sitting-room, while the women and children ate at another table in the kitchen. The food was brought to the sitting-room by

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the housekeeper who remained discreetly out of sight behind the door where she handed it to the men. She must wash up but warned by the proverb which says of work done badly by firelight because there are no lamps, 'Evening's work, morning's laugh', she waited till the next day. Then her task was much less formidable than one might think. At both the men's and the women's table everybody ate out of a common dish, fingers were used for a meat course, and one and the same wooden spoon dealt with soup and any semi-liquid food that followed. The men generally had their own spoons as they thought this more hygienic; they washed them themselves—rather sketchily—immediately after supper, and tucked them into their breast, ready for the next meal at home or at a friend's. If coffee was served, the master of the house or his deputy rinsed out the cups, for the precious utensils must never leave the sitting-room in case the women took to drinking coffee. Twenty men could sup on soup, meat, bread, curds and coffee without the housekeeper's having more than three centre dishes and the dining-table to wash.

A multiple household might contain as many as twenty persons; a goodly enough number but only a pale reflexion of past glories. All over north Albania it used to be the custom for brothers, first and even second cousins to live with their wives and children, and probably several aged uncles and aunts and young sisters, under the same roof. Enormous housefuls sometimes resulted. For instance, there were sixty-four people in Gjon Macaj's house in Perlat about 1900, ninety-five in Isuf Isaku's in Zdrâjshë in 1923, and seventy in Lushan Sadrija's in Shalë even more recently. The houses themselves, though conforming to the regulation pattern of men's sitting-room, kitchen, stables, store-rooms, and one bedroom for every family unit, were remarkably small by our standards. Quite a little bedroom suffices for seven or eight persons if they all sleep on the floor, and both the sitting-room and the kitchen often served as dormitories, the former for men guests and the unmarried or widowed men of the family and the latter for women guests and the widows of the family. The primary cause of this way of life was the lack of public security in former times. Enemies and bandits could wreak their will on a single-handed man, but had to respect one surrounded by well-armed guards, and these the trustiest possible, his nearest relatives. After Albania became independent, public security improved so much that the need for a family to see

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Women, too, had a personal name, but after they married their husbands were too shy to use it, and others knew them in early life as 'Mark's (or Asllan's or Vasil's) young wife' and in later life as his 'wife' or 'old woman', so that their own name fell into disuse. This contributed to their seclusion from the outside world and at the same time avoided the superfluous; since descent in the female line did not count, their names were not thought worth remembering.

Surnames in the sense of family names were general among the Orthodox, comparatively rare among the Moslems, and non-existent among the Catholics. Both Moslems and Catholics, however, tacked on the name of a man's father to his own and so distinguished him from his fellows. Thus a Moslem called Sadik Asllan was Asllan's Sadik and different from Sadik Arif, the son of Arif. A Catholic called Zef Nika was Nikë's Zef, i.e. Zef son of Nikë—Joseph Nicolson in English—and Zef Toma was Tom's Zef, i.e. Joseph Thomson, quite another person. Nika and Toma are in the indefinite genitive, to mark possession. As Moslem names might also be put in this genitive in Albania, Sadik Asllani, an Albanian form, was as frequently heard as Sadik Asllan, its Turkish counterpart. The endings of the Albanian indefinite genitive, it should be said, are tricky and vary according to the final letter of the root word and also according to the dialect used. They are further liable to be confused by foreigners with the definite article which Albanians must suffix to the name when making a statement about a person or a place. Thus Zef Nika signed himself so, without any suffixed article, but if another Albanian reported that 'Zef had gone', he must add the definite article to the name, saying *Zefi iku*. Turkish influence also made Moslems stop at the father's name, but the Catholics, who seem to have preserved the oldest Albanian method of nomenclature, often appended the grandfather's name as well.

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592 mother and others in her position, such as his uncle's elderly widow, might go to spend the night in her father's house. This gave him complete control over the time of the workers of the household. Whatever task he assigned the other men and the women must be performed without cavil; they must not only work as he said but go where he bade them and even marry when and whom he pleased. He spoke of them as 'my people' in English or 'my folk' in American parlance. When obliged to speak of them to the authorities or neighbours, he called any young man 'my son', any girl 'my daughter', and any married woman 'my wife' or 'my [562] old woman'. No decent Albanian, it should be noted, ever mentions the women of his household to outsiders except under compulsion.

The master had also sole control of the family purse. Any money earned by the other men by the sweat of their brow or a windfall like a tip must be paid over to him and spent for the family's benefit. For, says the law, 'the earnings of a son are shared by his father and brothers'. Here the words 'father', 'son' and 'brothers' have not only the narrow application which we English give, but also the wider Albanian sense of relatives in the [423] older or younger generation.[1] The farm was registered in the Land Office and popularly spoken of under the master's name, but this was only for convenience. It was owned jointly by all the men on it, and the master did not own a blade of grass more than the others [432] did. Yet in virtue of his position he need not consult any of them if he wished to buy or sell a field, vineyard, wood or portion of irrigation water. The right to buy and sell was his alone. There were only two limitations on this right, both deriving from the simple good sense that underlies all the unwritten laws. He could not sell a sheep or goat without first securing the shepherd's permission, and if the latter preferred to give him another animal, he must accept it, for the shepherd knew the flock better than he did. Secondly, the farmer of the family, having sole charge of the plough-oxen, did not require to ask his leave if he wished to help a neighbour with his ploughing, to lend the oxen, or even to give them away outright.

As keeper of the purse the master generally went to market himself with whatever produce was for sale, and bought what he thought necessary with the proceeds. It was his duty to see that everybody in the house was as well shod and dressed as the

[1] See p. 30.

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to work indoors. Her clothes were no better than theirs; indeed, if she had dairy work to do, they were usually dirtier. If she was unjust and ill-tempered, pilfered or sold family property, or fomented rather than composed the quarrels that were endemic among the other women, the men assembled in general meeting and deposed her.[1]

It only remains to describe a small domain with which the master had nothing to do. In astonishing contrast to the penniless men, all the women had their own money and controlled it absolutely. Called *pekul*, from Lat. *peculium*, and essentially pin-money, they spent it on kerchiefs, gewgaws, and even clothes and shoes. Each received the first of it on the morning after her marriage, when her men relatives filed past her in farewell and dropped money into a plate for her. Afterwards her father or brother might slip a coin or two into her hand when he visited her. In the tribal districts of the north her father also gave her on her marriage as much as half of the money which her husband had paid him for her. Later on she might occasionally earn a few pence by knitting socks in her odd moments or making the rough home-spun trousers worn by peasants. Debarred by law and custom from taking the finished articles to market herself, she gave them to her father or brother to sell, but never to her husband or grown-up son, for they would not let her even see the money. If near a market-town, she might gather walnuts or hazel-nuts in the woods and send these to market. In tobacco-growing areas she normally got the coarse bottom leaves of the plants, to smoke or to sell as she pleased. If she had none of these resources, she could only steal maize, eggs, wool or cheese from her husband's house and send a child to the shop to barter them for what she wished to have; she was bound to pay in kind or money, for the law forbade her to pledge either her husband's or her father's credit. On these occasions neither her father nor her brother would act as her agent, for if such connivance in her pilfering were discovered, they would be in serious trouble with her husband's family. If she chose to keep her *pekul* idle, she might safely lock it up in her dowry-chest in her room; her husband never seemed to make her give it up and no others might enter their room. Generally, however, she made the money fructify. In southern areas like Çermenikë she lent it at the usual rate of interest, which was 30% (enough to compensate

[1] The author never heard, however, of this being done.

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lenders for the want of security), and in the less-developed north she invested it in sheep, plough-oxen, or even horses which she hired out on the 'half-and-half' system. Before a woman died, she gave a little of her *pekul* to her daughters and the major part to her sons, but nothing to her husband, so making a last comment on the curiously detached relationship between them during their married life.

Except in the towns, no Albanian woman ever went into domestic service. Each worked as a girl in her father's house and then in her husband's and, though never paid any money, was assured for life of whatever board, lodging and clothes these could provide. This applied even to families of the standing of Çen Elezi in Dibër. Consequently the Unwritten Law took no cognizance of female servants. On the other hand, men servants—mainly farm workers or herdsmen—were numerous enough to have been carefully legislated for.

Though such a servant ate out of the same dish as his master and slept in the sitting-room or elsewhere in the same conditions as the young unmarried men of the family, he had always to take a back seat—in the literal sense near the door and far from the fire; and, in the metaphorical sense, effacing himself. This befitted both his youth and his status. For his status was like that of a woman. 'It is for the master to command and for the servant to obey', said the Unwritten Law. If he were a shepherd, his views on the beasts under his care commanded his master's respect, but other servants were required to keep their opinions to themselves. In areas such as Martanesh where women could not be killed in a blood feud, a servant was as safe as they were from his master's enemies. 'Kill a servant? Faugh! As well kill a woman', was the sentiment.

There was, however, another aspect to his position: since he came from another family in his master's village or from another village altogether, he was not a member of his master's household but was its guest. As such he was entitled to protection by his master against all hurt from third parties. If he were hit, the offender must pay twice, compensating him for the personal injury of the blow and his master for the affront to his guest. If he were robbed, his master latterly complained to the police, but in the old days would have shot the robber out of hand in the north, but in Martanesh and farther south, not until he saw that the servant himself was too weak to resent the injury as honour demanded. If

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428 592 Alternatively, both sitting-room and kitchen were measured with a rope and divided into two. A partition wall of lath and plaster or, more probably, of lath and mud was then run up in both. This left half of each with the old door and, where it existed, the old staircase, while the other two halves had neither door nor staircase; a new door and, if required, a new staircase, were built for these, generally on the opposite side of the house. Each brother then took possession of his new home, a small poor place but his own with its own egress to the outside world.

[542] [795] In the Mohammedan villages near Elbasan there were regulations about windows which aimed, like the building laws, at protecting women from prying eyes. In Godolesh the brother getting the upper room in a two-storeyed house was told to blind the windows overlooking the yard if his brother's kitchen, as was probable, opened on to this; otherwise his brother's womenfolk would not have full freedom to move about the yard. The brother getting the middle storey in a three-storeyed house was given similar instructions, but the brother with the topmost floor might leave all his windows open as they were too high to overlook the yard. In Labinot all windows overlooking another's property must, irrespective of their height, be blinded. Such regulations were not enforced in Christian villages.

When the old house had two rooms as well as a kitchen, the division was less complicated. To begin with, one room was assigned to each brother. If one was bigger than the other they were both valued and due compensation paid to the brother with the smaller one. As for the kitchen, either it was divided in two or it was given to one brother and its estimated value paid to the other so that he could build a new kitchen for himself on his own land.

Continuing to live under the same roof imposed certain mutual obligations on the brothers. If the flimsy partition wall or the roof needed repairs, both must share the expense in equal proportions. If one could not or would not pay his quota the other was entitled to repair only his own section of the roof, leaving his brother's to the ravages of the weather; or he might try to extract the money from his brother by force; until lately, he might even shoot him in truculent Lumë. As for the partition wall, he probably repaired it at his own expense for the sake of his personal privacy.

To avoid such quarrels and to secure more houseroom the buying out method of dividing the old home was preferred. The

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be put to the oath; such an ordeal was not for boys under twenty, old men over sixty, women, gipsies or lunatics. All of these were considered so irresponsible that even their sworn word carried no weight. One exception comes from Zerqan, where a woman accused of a petty theft like stealing a dress might take an oath in the semi-privacy of her home that she was innocent. If her fault was more serious, her oath was not accepted. A man—her husband or son or, failing these, her brother—had to take one for her, as he would have done for his senile father or his infant son. Another exception occurred in family oaths, as described later. But this exception was apparent rather than real. The infant boys who were present did not themselves take the oath. The master alone repeated the words dictated; the boys and other males were present solely to be implicated to the maximum extent possible in the dread consequences of perjury.

In criminal cases it was the suspect, the man who denied an accusation, who had to take the oath. In such cases its sole purpose was to clear him of suspicion; if he could take it, he was acquitted, and if he could not, he was convicted. The accuser was never allowed to support his accusation by an oath; even if he insisted that with his own eyes he had seen the crime being committed, he could not swear upon oath that what he said was true. For motives of spite might have induced him first to accuse his neighbour falsely, and then to swear a false oath. So the law said firmly 'It's for the denier to take the oath'.

Occasionally a suspect refused to take the oath. Then his accuser was at least tempted to shoot him. If it was a case of stealing he had to think twice; shooting the suspect would start a blood feud because 'murder for a fault (like stealing) isn't allowed', and perhaps the lost property was not worth the nuisance which the blood feud would cause. If it was a murder case, it did not much matter if he did shoot the suspect; he was already at feud with the murderer. In property cases refusals to take the oath seem to have been unknown when the dispute was in the hands of elders; if they ordered a disputant to take an oath, he dared not disobey for he knew that the whole community would gather to enforce the order. If one disputant, before the case had reached the elders, asked the other to take an oath that the property was his, his request was refused as often as not, and then shooting became inevitable.

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Assembly by his neighbour from whose tobacco box he had inadvertently rolled a cigarette. In every tribe and village, a man's honour was so stained by the theft of his gun or his wife that he had to shoot the thief and take the consequences of the ensuing blood feud.

The penalties imposed depended also on the nature of the articles stolen. North Albania was predominantly pastoral and, as the safety of the flock of sheep depended on the bell-animal, penalties for stealing this animal were heavy.[1] In Lumë the owner could demand six or seven sheep for the thief: 'as well steal the whole flock as its leader.' In Perlat stealing a bell-wether was such a disgraceful act that in the blood feud against the thief's family, even a woman could be killed. The bell of the leading animal was even more precious than the animal itself, and in Perlat, if it were stolen, it had to be returned and a sheep with it. In Labinot, the bell was thought too unlucky to be hung round an animal's neck again, and instead of returning it, the thief had to pay twice its value or be shot. In Mirditë a fine of 500 grosh was imposed for the dishonour done to the owner.

The two-for-one rule was applied to thefts of all farm animals, with the exception of pigs and cocks. The man who stole a pig had to pay 500 grosh in hard cash. This sum was often ten times the value of the animal, but the pig was the mainstay of the poor man and required special protection. The same sum of 500 grosh had to be paid for a cock, as 'the cock is the poor man's watch'. It was said that in Krasniqë an actual watch had to be paid instead of the money penalty.

Firewood was usually collected by women, and when they stole it their husbands were held responsible. It was common practice to seize the axe with which the thief cut the wood and the rope with which she slung it on her back. These articles were sometimes used as visible evidence of her guilt, sometimes retained as compensation, or as a guarantee for the payment of the penalty, or of the fee due to the elder who dealt with the case. Women might steal other things than firewood, and responsibility was always placed on the husband. It is recorded that, during the reign of King Zog, men might even be imprisoned for their wives' thefts. It was they who had to take the oath if an oath was required. The woman did not, however, get off scot free. In most areas she was

[1] Vide supra, p. 173.

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beaten by her husband, and no matter how severe the punishment, her brother, who was her natural protector, would be too ashamed of her conduct to interfere. If a thieving woman did not mend her ways, her husband usually divorced her. The southern Catholics, anxious to reform erring wives and to avoid divorce, sometimes sent wrongdoers to spend a night in the lonely church of Shen Ndue in the forest above the village of Laç in Kurbin. This treatment is said to have been effective in many cases!

By the laws of hospitality, a man never robbed his guest nor a guest his host. If a third party robbed either, the other did his best to find the thief and the stolen goods. But such laws were not always respected, and penalties were prescribed for their breach. In Mirditë a guest who stole was ostracized as well as having to pay the usual penalty. In Kurbin he was expelled for ever from the tribe. If a guest in Mirditë was robbed by a fellow-guest, their host demanded double redress from the criminal—for the injury to his guest and for housebreaking. If a guest was robbed after leaving his host's house, it was still the host's duty to punish the thief, as the latter would know where the victim had been.

1 [i.e. the Albanian wife, as recorded during the reign of King Zog --Analyst]

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couple were buried in any sort of hole, but in separate graves without a hoxha or being washed on boards and changed. In Lumë other customs prevailed. Both were buried in the cemetery in the ordinary way, unless they had been caught outside in some wood or thicket, in which case they were buried where they were killed.

Public opinion is growing against such double murders. It was too often the custom to give young girls to old men, with the inevitable result that the young wives were apt to fall in love with men more of their own age and had therefore to be killed by their fathers.

At Zdrâjshë, when a bride was found on marriage to be pregnant by another man, the unusually mild divorced her at once, but the general rule was to have her killed. The groom locked up the bride, sent for her father, and bade him find her lover. The father always asked for three or four days' respite during which he made inquiries. If the bride had indeed done wrong, an honest father sought out and killed the lover and then came to shoot his own daughter. Or perhaps he gave the bridegroom a cartridge and bade him shoot her with it. All the principles involved are well illustrated by a story from Lurë, still the most undisciplined of all Albanian tribes. About 1928 Metë Hoti, having taken a bride from Vehib Runa in Gur, found her within three months of bearing a child by another man. He sent her back to her father, bidding him find the lover and kill them both. The father would not kill his daughter and persisted in his refusal in spite of Metë's threats to kill the whole family if he did not do so. The father's kinsmen supported Metë, and when he came one night and killed the father, mother, daughter and infant and four other people in the house, they refused to avenge these deaths because the father had transgressed against the unwritten law. For the same reason the government merely imprisoned Metë for a few months.

A woman might be killed for various reasons by a man in her husband's or her father's family. For example, her husband or his representative had leave to kill her for heinous crimes like adultery, incorrigible pilfering, or murdering one of his relatives, but if they killed her for any other reason, her father killed one of them. Two principles were involved: one, that a man bought only the services of his wife and not her life; the other, that a woman retained till her dying day her right to protection by her father's family. Her son by the murderer could not avenge her, because killing his

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father, his only means of doing so, was forbidden. Her son by another husband, belonging as he did to another family, was free to avenge her. If a woman's son killed her for any but the above heinous crimes, her husband could not avenge her, since to do so he must kill his son. In Mirditë her brother could kill her son or other male in his family, but elsewhere it was held that her brother was as helpless as her husband because her son was a nearer relative and her nearest relative having killed her, her blood must be lost. If she was married for the second time and was killed by the son of her former marriage, her husband could kill his stepson, but as before, her brother's hands were tied, except in Mirditë, by the law of nearest relative.

When a man killed his brother's wife for any other reason than those stated above, her husband took no action if he and the murderer had not separated; the murder was a family affair. Her brother, however, killed one of them. If the two brothers had separated, the murderer had to pay blood money to her husband. If the husband did not exact it within a year, her brother killed either the murderer or her husband. Her husband never killed his brother: 'I'd never kill my brother for the sake of my wife', was a common saying.

When a woman was killed by her father or brother, her blood was always lost by the rule of nearest relative. If she was married, her husband did not, in most districts, continue friendly relations with the murderer, but in some, such as Krasniqë, he asked him for another girl and on receiving her forgot his annoyance at the other's murder. The same was true if the murdered woman was only betrothed, for a betrothed girl 'is counted the man's wife'. When a woman was killed by some other man in her own family, by her uncle or her nephew for instance, by the rule of nearest relative her blood was lost if she was neither married nor betrothed. If she was either and was not killed for a heinous crime, her husband felt he had been disgraced and avenged her by killing a male in her family.

When murders were committed by women, the situation was complicated by the fact that women belonged to two families, their husband's and their father's.

If a woman murdered her husband, both his family and her father's were involved. The important factor was her motive, which was usually love for another man who had probably bought the necessary rat poison in the bazaar. If her lover was her

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husband's brother, she married him and her husband's blood was lost exactly as if he had died by his brother's hand. If her lover was an outsider, her husband's brother killed her. He had the right to do so, woman though she was, for a question of honour was involved, and for questions of honour women might lawfully be put to death. Her son by the dead man could not kill the murderess because matricide is not allowable. Her husband's son by another wife was under no such inhibition, for he was only her stepson and therefore no relative. If her father's family believed in her adulterous motive, they sent a cartridge to her husband's brother, thereby signifying that they gave him leave to kill her and would not avenge her death. If they did not believe in the alleged motive, they avenged her by killing a man in her husband's family and an unusually bitter feud resulted.

Sometimes her husband's brother was too high-spirited or too angry to rest content with killing the murderess and killed one of her male relatives as well; he would plead that a woman's blood could never equal a man's and that her male relatives were responsible for her misdeeds. Sometimes a murderess escaped alive to her father's house. In that case she was held to have escaped from the suzerainty of her husband's family and became a stranger; as a stranger she must expiate her crime, but her sex shielded her personally and threw the onus of expiation on her male relatives—'Women don't have blood feuds'. Her husband's brother was therefore bound to kill one of her relatives. To avoid losing a male for his daughter's crime her father sometimes killed her himself, a desperate act that always satisfied her husband's brother.

A woman rarely murdered any other man than her husband. If she did murder her brother, it was assumed that it had happened by accident as he was her surest protector. There are no records of the murder of father or paternal uncle by a woman.

The last category of murders within the family includes the very rare cases in which a woman murdered a woman in her husband's or her father's family. If she murdered her mother or her daughter, both most unlikely contingencies if she were sane, the victim's blood was lost by law of nearest relative. In all other cases the result depended on whether her victim was single or married. Thus the murder of her unmarried sister, paternal aunt, brother's daughter, counted as a suicide and the victim's blood was lost. If she murdered her husband's sister, the victim's blood was again

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582 lost because the only possible avenger was the woman's husband,
562 who was not likely to kill the wife, who had cost him good money, for
628 the sake of his sister, though he was more likely to do so for the sake
596 of his father or brother. If she murdered a married woman of her
[607] own kin, her victim's husband exacted blood money from the males of her family or perhaps another girl. If she murdered a married woman in her husband's kin, his brother's wife, for example, or her own brother's wife, her victim's brother exacted blood money or even a life from the males in her family.

When a woman killed the wife of her husband's brother, her victim's husband had to suffer the loss of his chattel in silence. He could not kill the murderess because a man might not kill his brother's wife for any reason other than adultery or thieving. Nor could he kill her husband because a man might not kill his own brother. In his default his wife was avenged by her brother, who might kill either him or his brother if they were not separated, but only him if they were. Whatever the issue, her sex saved the murderess from expiating her crime.

[606] When a woman killed her mother-in-law or her daughter-in-law, her sex again saved her from expiating the crime. Her victim's brother was the only possible avenger, for no member of her husband's family could kill the murderess for anything except adultery and thieving. The avenger could kill any male in the family of the murderess; the marriage relationship did not count.

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This want of restrictions may be attributed, partly to the smaller emphasis which south Albanians lay on descent in the male line, partly to the greater store which, probably under Greek influence, they set on relationships in general. North Albanians, when sent to work in south Albania, always expressed lively astonishment when they found, for instance, a southerner claiming as a relative a man who was only the brother of his wife's brother.

It occasionally happens that a young widow with a son remarried in another family, who probably lived in another village or even district, and had a son by her second husband. Almost without exception the son by her first husband remained with his father's family, so that the two boys grew up apart. Even if the first son accompanied his mother on her remarriage, he had at an early age to return to his father's family. There never was any doubt that the two boys belonged to different households. They recognized each other as brothers, however, and if one was killed, the other had as much right as a full brother on the father's side to avenge him. But if either wished to avenge another male in the other's household, he could only do so by joining an expedition led by the master of that household; he could not do so independently, for except to his half-brother he was an outsider.

'Women do not have rifles' ran the Kanùn. As a corollary 'Women do not have blood feuds', it continued. One result of these Kanùns was that women could not properly avenge their murdered relatives. It was also recognized that they were generally too timorous to do so. A few 'strong characters', however, had been known to lay aside their feminine fears and to kill an enemy. Thus the virgin Emin of Orenjë in Çermenikë avenged her father. When he was killed she was still in the cradle and as she grew up she became aware that her four cousins, the only males left in the family, did not show too much zeal in avenging him. When she was fifteen, she secretly bought a rifle and, seeing the enemy one day come within range of the windows of her home, she fired at him and killed him with the third shot. Then her cousins were trebly annoyed. She, a woman, had proved herself their superior in courage; for her crime one of their lives was forfeit; and they had hoped to compound the feud without further bloodshed, a hope she had destroyed. In fact, she had embittered the feud by putting the enemy to the shame of losing a relative at a woman's hands. Again, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son

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Again, a woman from Terbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son
562 had been killed at a third person's instigation, took his revolver and
*628 killed the instigator. Unfortunately for her, the date was about
[682] 1923 when a modern government was already functioning; she was arrested and tried for murder, but in view of the circumstances she was condemned to no more than a year and a half's imprisonment. The public were astonished to find that the government had punished a woman on much the same terms as a man.

[593] Assuming that a woman could steel herself to murder anyone, it is natural to find her avenging her father, son or brother. Given primitive Albanian ideas about the proprieties between husband and wife, and the feeling that the wife remained a member of her father's household, it is somewhat surprising to find one avenging her husband. A woman of western Mat went one day to the bazaar and there saw the man who had murdered her husband. In spite of the press of people she drew a revolver and shot him dead; as she had come provided with the weapon, there is little doubt that she did not act on the spur of the moment. About 1883 Fatime Almetaj, a woman born in Kostejë near Martanesh and married in Përvall, was busy baking one day while her husband talked to a neighbour. On hearing a gunshot she rushed out to find her husband already dead and the neighbour running away. She ran inside, seized her husband's rifle and again rushed out. The neighbour had already reached his own doorstep when she fired. As soon as she saw him fall dead, she re-entered her house and resumed her baking; her husband had been avenged, there were others in the family to feed, and the dough was getting cold. In neither of these cases do records show whose life the enemy took in return for the one she had taken; by right it should have been one of the males in her husband's family.

593 In certain cases both the avenger and the expiator of a murder
*628 might be drawn from outside the household directly concerned.
[826] For instance, if a murderer and his brother were separated, the avenger might kill the latter while his blood was boiling, a period estimated in Dibër at one hour and in Mirditë and elsewhere at twenty-four hours. When his blood had cooled he must not molest the separated brother, and might be required to find a guarantor that he would not do so. Conversely, a man separated from his murdered brother might avenge him during the regulation period, but not afterwards.

613 Sometimes the rule of 'boiling blood' was extended to larger
*628

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for the violation of her honour by the push than for the bruise, was not satisfied and instigated her son, a boy of twelve or thirteen, to vindicate her honour by killing Gjelosh's son, who was of the same age. Since the boys habitually herded their goats together, her son found an opportunity of pushing the other boy over a rock and as he lay there helpless he stoned him till he died. Then Gjelosh, still in prison, paid a man to kill the little murderer. Grimës retorted by killing Gjelosh's remaining son and dooming Gjelosh's family to extinction.

Two instances, both from Beshkash in western Mat, in which a child was killed by a woman in revenge for the death of a relative, are recorded. In the first (about 1918) the only son of Pushko Zefi of Beshkash had been killed, and the cousins, who were his natural avengers, did not seem inclined to do their duty. Maddened by their inaction, the victim's sister, who was married in Perlat, took the opportunity provided by a visit to her old home and called at the enemy's house. On being left alone for a moment with a small boy in the kitchen, she cut his throat. Another woman in Beshkash, crazed by the murder of her grown-up son by Pal Dede Hajo, went to Pal's house and cut off the head of a little boy she found asleep in his cradle.

Since women do not have rifles or blood feuds according to the Kanùn, a woman could not possibly be killed to avenge a murder. It follows that when a woman avenged a murdered relative, she could not be killed in return, and indeed this did not happen very often. The tabu on killing a woman in any circumstances was reinforced by all the forces of public opinion and superstition. Killing a woman save when taken in adultery or incorrigible pilfering was the most disgraceful thing that an Albanian could do. Only one who came from 'a low-class family' would do it, he never again had any luck with his rifle and he could not hope to have his crime pardoned, but must wash away his crime with his blood. He need pay with only one life, but if his victim was a married woman, he could hardly hope to save it, for two or even three families sought to take it. The dead woman's husband wished to avenge his wife, her father his daughter, and, in Martanesh, her maternal uncle his niece. At Shënjon, near Elbasan, the father asked the husband if he meant to kill the enemy; if from cowardice or weakness he said no, the father at once set about tracking down the enemy. Since 'rifles can't weigh'—that is, discriminate—a

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562 628 672 784 woman was sometimes shot accidentally in a man's stead in spite of the tabu. In that unhappy event in Kurbin a woman in the murderer's family might be killed in return. If, too, a feud was unusually bitter, as was, for instance, the Kaloshi family one in Dibër, all barriers of law and disgrace were thrown down; 'kill at all costs' was the order of the day, and in its execution women and children were as likely as men to suffer.

This tabu on killing women had several sources. In the first place, a woman was 'a sack for carrying' things, i.e. she was the vehicle by which a family was carried on, and killing her might mean the loss of more than one man to her husband's family. Then she carried no arms, and therefore was classed with old men, children, and lunatics as safe from an avenger. Again, she was [421] always regarded as an article of property, belonging in her maiden days to her father and afterwards to her husband; her father had the right to her work till she married, and her husband afterwards; in token of this work her father sold her dear, and her husband bought her dear. Articles of property could not be damaged in the course of blood feuds. There was also the feeling that it was a disgrace for a 'strong' man to kill anything so inferior as a woman.

The tabu on killing women was so strong that when one committed a murder, not she but one of the males in the family expiated the crime, if expiation were possible. Murders by women fell into two categories, the first outside and the second inside the family. In both cases the murderess might commit the crime on her own account or butt into a men's quarrel to avenge a murdered relative.

628 672 [754] 676 One more class of expiator remains to be considered. It sometimes happened that a man hired an outsider to kill his enemy. In the Breg i Matit some held that such a man was a 'witch', and since witches could not have blood feuds, he must go scot-free and his hireling suffer, like any other murderer. In most places, if the instigator could not be discovered, or if time was passing without vengeance being taken on him, the hireling was killed. These practices were exceptional, and in general the feud was credited to the principal rather than to the subordinate who fired the fatal shot.

[554] Vanity as well as justice came into the question, for the instigator was usually a more important person than his instrument, and killing him brought the avenger more glory.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

If expiation took the form of blood money, no distinction was made for age; the payment for a worn-out man of eighty or an able-bodied man of thirty was the same as for a boy of five or an infant of a few weeks. As when a life was taken for a life, no distinction was made for social standing or moral character; the payment for a bajraktar was the same as for a labourer. A female's 'blood', however, cost only half a male's. In the early days when these payments were determined, money was so distributed that the rich had a great deal, while the poor, who formed the bulk of the population, were all but penniless. The fear of having to pay a large sum in blood money was therefore a considerable deterrent against murder.

Blood money was accepted only in Mirditë and north Albania. Elsewhere it was scorned. 'Blood money and bride-price do you no good', said Lumë. 'We don't sell blood for money; that is a low thing to do', said Çermenikë, a boast repeated in Dibër in even stronger terms. In Labinot and Godolesh blood could not be washed away with money on the north Albanian system. In all these districts the formula after a murder was 'either pardon or kill'.

It must be admitted that neither lived up to its pretensions, the north being more truculent and the other districts less truculent than they claimed. In the Malësi e Madhe, for instance, only weak, low-class families would accept blood money; if other families did so, they were held to have 'disgraced themselves'. Indeed, a bajraktar's household, a voivode's or a 'leading family' should seek for fifty years, if need be, to kill the murderer of one of their men. On the other hand, a Çermenikë man sometimes accepted blood money, but if he so demeaned himself, his aim was to ruin his enemy and he fixed the price accordingly. In Dibër no man would accept blood money for a male relative unless it was accompanied by the present of a rifle as a conventional sign that he was still free to kill the murderer if he could. In Lumë a subtle use was sometimes made of blood money. Normally, when a life had been paid for a life, peace was made. But when an inferior killed his superior, the latter's relative would not make peace till he had killed two of the other's men. At the peace-making the first was paired with the original victim and for the second the superior's relative paid blood money.

Given the stigma attached to blood money, it was seldom paid except in lighter cases. After an accidental murder, for instance,

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

dependent on charity. At best the elders fixed a sum to be paid by the murderer for leave to work his own land: the money paid, the avenger gave his word not to molest him; or a 'strong' friend guaranteed his safety as he tilled his fields. This arrangement continued until he was killed elsewhere or the avenger consented to make peace.

Various devices were tried to outwit an avenger too venomous to make the smallest concession to his 'imprisoned' enemy. The commonest was for the murderer to let his land to a neutral on the usual Albanian terms of 'halves'. Once some men of Lurë, trusting to the prevailing immunity of women from attack, dressed in their wives' clothes and went out to work. They were soon discovered and compelled to return home. Frequently a woman was made to work alongside the men, the assumption being that from fear of accidentally hitting the women and so disgracing himself the avenger would not fire on the party. The man who murdered the brother of Kodhel Dede of Nezhar in Shpat belonged to a large family, the members of which went to work with a woman between every two men. Kodhel thus found it impossible to kill one of them and after a long period of years made peace. Sometimes a man's wife kept watch while he worked; if she signalled the enemy's approach, he seized his rifle and prepared to defend himself. During Kodhel Dede's feud with the Trepsanishti family he found himself long baulked by the vigilance of his enemy's wife. At last his chance came on the eve of 15 August. The wife had her mind set on making *melata* (sacrificial foods) for distribution on the festival, and, forgetting her husband who was at work on the threshing floor, she went home to make them. Kodhel, who had crept up through a maize field, shot her husband as soon as her back was turned. In the hilly landscape of Fulqet in west Mat a different sort of watch was kept. The 'imprisoned' men, aided by friends, dug a hole on top of a hill commanding a wide view. One of their best shots, rifle in hand, settled down in this hole ready to snipe the avenger if he tried to kill any of the men at work.

Work in the fields apart, an 'imprisoned' murderer might for short periods leave his house under escort of a friend. This friend had to be 'strong', otherwise the murderer might be killed by his enemy, a lasting disgrace to the man whose protégé he was for the time being. Sometimes murderer and avenger had a common friend who took the former out; in that case the friend ran less risk

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prende's Day, 1894]

[681] solemnly pledged to safety for whoever goes to spend the night in Nikaj [491] or Shalë. If any tribesman of Shalë who goes along this road is killed [574] by a tribesman of Nikaj, the guest of all Shalë is killed, from dawn of day till the fall of night. If any tribesman of Nikaj who goes along this road is killed by a tribesman of Shalë, the guest of all Nikaj is killed, from the dawn of day till fall of night.

Between the same points the road is safe for Shosh and Mertur and is under the protection of Nikaj and Shalë. If a tribesman of Shosh kills a tribesman of Mertur he kills the guest of Shalë; if a tribesman of Mertur kills a tribesman of Shosh, he kills a guest of Nikaj.

[695] Whoever resorts to violence on this road must make an oath with twelve men taking the oath and twelve standing by.[1]

[235] 2. A flock and its shepherd are not to be killed by anyone; their safety is solemnly pledged and guaranteed. Any man who kills them must pay 20 purses or be killed and have his life equated to theirs.

3. If the pledge of safety is broken and a tribesman of one tribe kills during the period of pledge and guarantee and a tribesman of the other tribe does not so kill, twenty-four men of the tribe that had a man killed must take oath saying, 'You killed me when guaranteed'.

4. The whole road to Curraj up to the Krue i Ftofët (Cold Spring) is under a pledge of safety.

5. Mowers and reapers with scythe and sickle are under a pledge of safety in both summer and winter pasturages.

[313] Cutters of pine slivers and timber are under a perpetual pledge of safety.

[204] Shooters are under a pledge of safety from St Nicholas's Day in summer (May 9th) to St Nicholas's Day in winter (December 6th).

[312] A man irrigating during the night is under a pledge of safety.

6. A house with hearth and flour-bin and the keep of a house are not under a pledge of safety.

[231] Sheepfolds are under a pledge of safety.

7. If anyone goes out from the keep or the house in order to go to the sheepfold which is under a pledge of safety he must say, 'Look, man, we're going to the animals (or the fold), which are under a pledge of safety.'

[562] 8. As for women in Shkodër and Gjakovë:

If any of them wants herself to run away or to behave badly for the fun of it, good luck to her.

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: It was the custom in Dukagjin to make half, not all, of the jurors take an oath. If twenty-four jurors are ordered, twelve go and lay their hand on the Gospel and the other twelve stand listening with folded hands. In many mountain districts unless the principal person concerned excuses someone, it is the custom of all the jurors to go and lay their hand on the Gospel while repeating the words of the oath.)

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

To the Land of the Eagle

871 there is an improvement, and in the principal towns there are
[562] not only schools for boys but schools for girls also. The villagers, however, with the aversion from change and progress which is characteristic of the peasant in all countries, oppose the education of the girls. What do they want with education? Is it not their job to attend to the house, to work in the fields, to wait on their lords and masters and to bear them children? So say these village folk,—and I seem to have heard arguments on the education question, in essentials exactly the same though perhaps not quite so crudely put, uttered by persons in a certain civilised country who ought to know better.

361 During my stay in Koritza I explored the town thoroughly The Mohammedan quarter swarms with children—quaint little creatures in all sorts of garments, the girls for the most part wearing the orthodox Turkish trousers. They seem happy enough, though dirty. The Christian section of the town does not lag behind the Mohammedan in this particular, and there are no signs whatever of a decreasing birth-rate. As you walk along the rather narrow streets, open and half-open doorways give glimpses of shady courtyards where women sit spinning and sewing and nursing their babies. There are plants in tubs, and trellises, and vines, and always a pump to supply the household with water, for Koritza is proud of its water, which is very pure and fresh. In the business parts crowds of men fill the streets, and they carry all sorts of things—fish on a string, the entrails of sheep, dead mutton, live kids, the raw pelts of goats and cattle,

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

Women and the Moral Standard

361 sheep's heads, and every conceivable kind of foodstuff both
[562] animate and inanimate. Here the only women to be seen are peasants with loads of grass and fodder, or gipsies with bags slung across their shoulders and distaffs in their hands, for it is not considered respectable for women to walk in the main streets of the town, though in the more secluded parts you may occasionally meet high-heeled Mohammedan ladies whose veils do not quite hide the fact that they are smartly dressed in the European fashion.

562 One rarely sees men and women together in Albania, and
831 in consequence one gets the impression, rightly or wrongly, that the company of women is not valued, and that women are regarded only as household drudges and the mothers of children. Nevertheless—or perhaps on this account—the standard of morality is high both in Albania and throughout the Balkans, and breaches of the moral code are rare. In all uncivilised and half-civilised communities the same characteristic is observable, for a wife is regarded as property just as much as a sheep or a bullock or a house, and it is the primitive man's first instinct to keep his property inviolate. Doubtless the women as well as the men have come to regard this point of view as normal, and it is to this, together with a healthy fear of the consequences which any lapse must inevitably bring, that the chastity of the Balkan women is chiefly to be attributed, though a simple religious faith accepted without questioning may also play some part.
831 At all events, whatever the reason, the fact remains that the standard of conduct is, in this particular, higher in the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

of the padres, being Albanian mountain men themselves, thought this right, though they admitted that the beating was sometimes cruelly severe.

In some ways the women have more freedom than among the Montenegrins, for they are permitted to give their opinion freely on important subjects, and it is often asked, and they join in general conversation. Nor do their husbands ever apologize for their existence.

In Montenegro, on the other hand, as often as not the master of the house has shouted: "Be quiet, woman," when his wife only wanted to ask some innocent question. I never heard any of Iké's views except when Krsto was out, and one was always hearing, "Long hair, short wits, a woman's head!" hurled at the women. The Albanian woman, on the other hand, would joke and chaff the men; would even, in the streets of Scutari, call their husbands out of the drink-shop and tell them they had had enough. Nor does the Albanian woman have to bow humbly and kiss the hand of every male visitor as does the Montenegrin peasant woman. Among the Dukagini I found the men would even fetch water—a thing no Montenegrin "junak" would condescend to do.

A curious case illustrating the rights of the husband occurred while I was in Albania. A mountain woman left her husband and came to Scutari, where she lived by prostitution among the Turkish garrison. The husband's honour was blackened, but if he killed his wife he would owe blood to her family. He therefore consulted her brother, her nearest surviving male relative. The brother agreed that his family, too, was blackened, and gave the man the cartridge wherewith to shoot her. Shot she was, and public opinion considered the husband had acted rightly and cleaned the honour of both families. I said that in such a case divorce should be permitted, but was told that so long as she was alive the family honour would still be black; a divorce would be useless.

5. Marriage Customs in Montenegro

In Montenegro, and all through the Serb-speaking lands, marriages were arranged by the head of the house. The young people were rarely consulted. A century ago in Montenegro infant and child betrothals were not uncommon, and the young couple did not see each other before marriage. Old Serbian ballads show that exogamy was the rule, for the hero, we are usually told, "sought his bride from afar." Such marriages were designed to strengthen the "house." We find in ballads and tales the youth who laments to his father that no wife has yet been found for him; to whom his father replies: "I have long sought

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

forth. Seventy to eighty years was nearer their age than a hundred; and many who looked sixty were younger.

Women are early worn out. Especially in Montenegro, there is a very great difference in height between men and women. Women I found usually shorter than I am (5 ft. 3 ins.); whereas men well over six foot are not uncommon. The Montenegrins seemed proud of this difference, and when I said that of course, if a girl was married at fifteen and had four children before she was twenty she never grew to her full height, they were very angry indeed.

Lunacy and Mental Diseases.—Lunacy is very generally believed to be possession by evil spirits, if the lunatic is a violent and dangerous one. Exorcisms are much used both by the Catholic and Orthodox priests. In Orthodox monasteries lunatics are often treated with great cruelty, and beaten and otherwise maltreated in order to drive out the spirits. I once saw an unfortunate man, almost naked, chained like a dog to a sort of kennel in the yard of a monastery. He was very quiet and half-dazed. The monks admitted that they beat him whenever he resisted or tried to escape.

The women of the Balkans, completely exhausted as they only too often are by severe toil and perpetual child-bearing and lactation, often suffer from neurasthenia and "hysteria." A curious form is not uncommon among the women of Macedonia and Montenegro. I am told it occurs also in Russia. It begins as a hiccough, and becomes more and more intense until it is a violent and fast-recurring spasm of the diaphragm. The hiccoughs become louder and louder till they are an uninterrupted crowing like that of a hoarse rooster. So quick are they that the patient cannot breathe. Just as she appears to be in danger of choking, she suddenly pulls herself together, draws a long breath, gives a gasp or two, and recovers in a few minutes. At intervals the attacks may go on all day; nor, when the habit is acquired, is it easy to cure. To a certain extent it is under the patient's control; but not entirely. When I did relief work among the Bulgar peasants in Macedonia after the revolt in 1903, I met a case which had been reported as "a Turkish atrocity" by relief workers unacquainted with the complaint. I visited the village where she was. She was quite quiet. So soon as she heard I was an English relief agent she began to "crow" loudly and had one spasm after another. By way of a test I said: "Tell her if she makes that noise I will do nothing for her." And after some gasping she recovered and made no more noise while I was there. But she was not cured.

The Balkan remedy is one of suggestion. On a saint's day the patient is taken to the Orthodox church. On St. Petar's Day, at Moratchka

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Balkan Peoples E13

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

Both the name and the food taboos being even to-day so common in the Balkans, it is strange to find Herodotus, so many centuries ago, mentioning both as peculiar customs of the Ionians and explaining them thus: "Even those who esteemed themselves the most noble of the Ionians on first settling in the country brought no wives, but married a number of Carian women whose husbands they put to death. In consequence of this violence the women made a compact which they delivered to their daughters never to sit at meals with their husbands nor to call them by their appropriate names" (Bk. I, c. xlvi). He, however, expressly states that these Ionians were of very mixed origin, saying that: "Molossians, Pelasgians of Arcadia, and Dorians of Epidaurus were mingled with them." These are some of the oldest known Balkan tribes. The Molossians especially were in South Albania. The food and name taboos were thus possibly brought from the Balkans to Asia by the men. Judging by the present Balkan peoples, it is far more likely that the customs should have been enforced by them on their captured wives than that Herodotus's explanation should be correct.

4. Taboo on Showing the Face

The amount of veiling done by the women varies very considerably among the Balkan peoples, I know. The most closely veiled and hooded of all were the Moslem Slavs of Mostar and Serajevo. The Moslem Slav, whether called Serb or Croat, is a very strict Mohammedan.

This may be because the Bosnians and Herzegovinians—the Bosnians more especially—adopted Islam in many cases as early as the fifteenth century, whereas the Albanians, upon whom it sits far more lightly, and a very large number of whom belong to the heretical Bektashi sect, became Mohammedan mainly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and some in the nineteenth. The women of the Moslem Albanian mountain tribes are never veiled, and will come to market and bargain freely with any man, their faces more exposed than those of many Christians.

In the towns, which were under the rule of Turkish officials whose womenfolk possibly set the fashions, the Albanian Moslem women were all more or less closely veiled. In Dulcigno they almost exceeded the hooding of Mostar, and have preserved the custom under the rule of the Montenegrin, which was forced upon them by the pious efforts of Mr. Gladstone.

The veiling of women was, however, not unknown in Ancient Greece, and the veiling or partial veiling of both men and women was practised in various primitive and non-Moslem lands. The usual explanation of

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

male jealousy is quite insufficient; for, in fact, the veiled Moslem woman can "carry on" incognito with far more ease than can her unveiled and recognizable Christian sister. Nor, at any rate, in the lands we are considering, is the Christian husband a whit less jealous than the Moslem. All Christian Scutari was once in a hubbub over the scandalous and shocking conduct of the Austrian doctor and Italian Consul-General. These two gentlemen had publicly exchanged wives on the Consular lawn-tennis court, and these shameless women had each played against her own husband.

I was seriously consulted and failed to convince the disgusted Scutarenes that the proceeding was harmless. How could you tell where it would end?

When I first went to Scutari, in 1901, all the Catholic married women wore a long lace veil pinned across the lower part of the face and draped over the head. Unmarried Catholic girls still, I believe, shroud their heads entirely in a thick cotton wrapper, leaving only a peep-hole.

Most of the Orthodox peasants of Macedonia, both Bulgar and Greek, wore a large handkerchief folded into a triangle over their heads and arranged the two long corners across the mouth and tucked them in securely on either side. The mouth was very often thus covered, too, by Montenegrin maidens; and by Christian women in Bosnia.

Sir James George Frazer states, giving many examples, that the covering of the mouth is connected with the belief that the soul may escape by it or evil spirits enter by it, and that complete veiling is probably a protection also from the Evil Eye.

That the mouth is the important spot is shown by the Moslem girls of Bosnia, who, when caught unveiled at a well, or on the hill-side with their flocks, will sometimes seize a handkerchief hastily between their teeth and then seem to think themselves sufficiently protected.

Now evil eyes and bad spirits swarm in the Balkans; and the soul always escapes by the nose or mouth. "My soul was in my nose all the time!" cries the Montenegrin when telling of an escape from danger.

"That brought your soul into your nose!" said the horse-boy when my horse nearly came down with me. The tying of a handkerchief over the holes through which it might escape is a very reasonable precaution.

Women who do not protect themselves with a veil, deck themselves and their children with a mass of beads and dingle-dangles. These things are to act as it were as lightning-conductors to attract the glance of the Evil Eye and save their persons from it. The veiled and hooded woman wears no ornament outside her outdoor garment.

The bride, both Catholic and Moslem, is veiled from head to foot.

342 [562] local independence of the families within them. In the *kullas*, women are placed on the second floor, men on top; or else the women will live in a nearby unfortified house, while the men take refuge in the *kulla*. This reflects the inviolability of women in the local feuding law.

333 *Kulla*-building requires the skill of professionals. All stones are squared, and carefully set in mortar. The fireplaces and chimneys must be properly aligned and made to draw. The great height of the walls requires scaffolding. Nopcsa[3] says that they are built by itinerant masons, and that in 1908 they cost between 440 and 660 crowns (110–165 dollars). I was told several times when I asked that the *kullas* were built by masons from Dibra,[4] who also build them in Montenegro, Bosnia, and elsewhere in Yugoslavia. Exactly where in Dibra these masons come from I do not know. I have never seen one at work, nor did any appear in our series.

354 These houses, of whatever type, are heated by wood, which at the same time cooks the meals. In most of the region there is plenty of firewood, but in the northern limestone region it is scarce and must be sought afar. The mountaineers earn a little spare cash by carrying loads of firewood down to the market towns to sell.

In many houses in 1929 a primitive form of illumination was still employed. When it grew dark the host would lay a number of pine splinters in several iron racks, hanging from the roof, and light them. The oil in the wood would provide enough light to see by, but hardly enough for reading. In other houses, however, they used candles, and in still others oil lamps. Kerosene has been packed into this country in square 5-gallon tins for some time, and the tins themselves are as much sought after as their contents.

291 Gheg clothing has received even more attention than their housing. The costumes are picturesque, and make fine collections. They vary from tribe to tribe, *bairak* to *bairak*, and in some cases between villages. After six months of travel over the mountains I was able to tell where a man came from in many cases by the cut of his jacket, the color of his

[3] Nopcsa, 1925, p. 62.

[4] [See cat. 116, p. 14 b -- Analyst]

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939) 1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania EG1

A wide rudely made ladder leads to the first floor, along which runs a passage, or *hodnik*, four or five feet broad, made of uneven and draughty planks that give precarious hold to Western shoes. Dark cupboards of rooms open on both sides, one for each married man of the *zadruga*, with his wife and children. Sometimes they possess a window-slit, sometimes not. They are furnished with nothing besides a home-made plank bed, covered with the much-valued long-fleeced sheepskin rugs, made from sheep that have never been shorn, a clothes-chest, a loom, a distaff, and a stock of cotton and fleece. 352 [417]

In houses with only one top storey the large guest-room takes up the whole width of the house at one end of the passage. At the other end is the small apse-closet. But in a house with two upper storeys the entire top floor is devoted to the guest-room, which is reached by another perilous home-made ladder. [342]

This guest-chamber is far the largest and best-furnished room in the house; its ceiling, however, is as low as the rest. The floor-boards fit better, although, as in the other rooms, the door rests on a fixed barrier, twelve inches high, which keeps off draughts from those who are reclining on rugs or mats. A half or a third of the floor is spread with carpets, and enclosed by a low wooden kerb. Here against the walls are laid many long stiff cushions, tight with wool or straw, and covered with coarse hand-woven woollen stuff, worked in bright greens, reds, whites, and purples, in chevron-like patterns on a black or yellow ground. These colours, in similar bold Albanian designs, are repeated on the light wood of the doors, unless these are carved instead. Outside the kerb stands a kind of bed-seat, about a foot high, with very simply carved back and arms, spread with the finest of the long-fleeced sheepskins. On one side of the room the fire burns within an immense chimney-place, projecting far into the room and reaching up to the low roof. [531] [354]

The men have their meals in the guest-chamber. They sit cross-legged and unshod upon cushions round the *sofra*, eating from the dishes brought as far as the door by the 264 516 562

EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania E61
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5

A 562 [264] [516] women, and set on the table by a young man. The best places and softest cushions are taken by the old men as a matter of course, when they recline or sit on the floor to smoke, talk, and drink coffee. At night this room is given A [574] up to the guests, who, of course, are almost always men. S M Albanians are very jealous, and keep their women carefully secluded in their own part of the house.

A 342 Montenegrins and Serbs living in this region (some of them claim that their families have dwelt there since pre-Kosovo days) build their houses in the thatched one-storeyed manner, with mud-brick walls as in Montenegro itself, copying nothing from the later Albanian fortress-houses.

XIV

C 342 [177] (7) *Houses in Dalmatia* are marked by Venetian influence, though not so strongly in the villages as in the towns, which are extremely Italianized in their building. In coast villages one generally finds quite ordinary little stone or brick cottages with thick walls and tiled roofs. Inland village houses are more distinctive. They are built of stone, with or without mortar. The roofs are tiled, and a C [351] stone-flagged verandah and path run between the cool dark house and the flower-garden, surrounded by a low stone wall. Windows are fairly large and kept open. In some of the villages in the neighbourhood of Dubrovnik a room shaped above the eaves like a huge extinguisher is used as a kitchen. Its sloping sides, twice the height of the upright walls, end above the roof in a small square chimney with a pointed cap, and are slit by one or more vent-holes. The narrow eaves almost meet the lintels of the doors and windows. In the Karst districts, farther inland, the cottages are of the barren mountain type.

XV

S 342 (8) *Shepherds' huts* are extremely simple, often like wigwams. In Serbia they are mostly made of sticks piled into the shape of a tent, with a door, the spaces between them sometimes filled with clay or sods. In the heights of

[i.e. the guest-chamber – Analyst]